THE VOCALISM OF ROMANIC WORDS IN CHAUCER

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

RUBEN NÖJD
FIL. LIC.

BY PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA, TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE ROOM I, MAY 27th, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M., FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Preface.

The present work was originally planned to comprise the whole of Chaucer's phonology. After the publication of F. Wild's excellent book on Chaucer's language a good deal of my preparatory researches proved unnecessary. Dealing almost exclusively with the poet's native word-treasure, Wild's work, however, calls for a complementary study, as far as the Romanic part is concerned. So I decided to make an attempt at a more detailed and systematic investigation into this part of Chaucer's vocabulary. Since, after tenBrink and Wild, there was little more to be said about the consonants, I confined my study to the vocalism. In arranging my material I found it more practical and from a Modern English point of view more profitable, to devote a separate part of the work to such questions as had a bearing upon the subject as a whole. Thus, for instance, it was more convenient to deal with combinatory sound-changes once for all than to take up the same question for each vowel separately. Occasionally, the problems dealt with led to a discussion of some questions of principle that had an intimate bearing upon Chaucer's language or on ME in general. Of course comparisons with ModE were often inevitable.

For the study of the Canterbury Tales, which have afforded the material for the larger part of these researches, I have used the Ellesmere MS, with continual attention, however, also to the other MSS of the Six-Text Edition. The other works have been studied chiefly in Skeat's edition. Following Skeat, I have consistently printed *v* where the MSS have *u* for this consonant.

My interest in Chaucer dates back to the time when I had the pleasant advantage of studying English philology at Upsala under the late Prof. Erik Björkman's guidance. His premature death means a heavy loss, not only to English philology in general, but also to the large number of students who have learned to appreciate his unusual ability as a teacher and his attractive personal qualities. For many valuable hints that I received in the course of my work and for the warm interest he always took in my English studies, I shall always remain thankful.

The work was continued at Yale University, New Haven, where I had the privilege of studying the year 1916—17 as a Fellow on the American-Scandinavian Foundation, taking part in several courses, preeminently those of Prof. A. S. Cook. To him and my other American teachers I am indebted for much useful instruction and personal kindness.

My thanks are also extended to the officials at the Libraries of Upsala, New Haven, and Gothenburg for their ready assistance in finding the literature required.

Finally, I am under a great debt of gratitude to Dr G. E. Fuhrken, who was kind enough to revise the proofs while they were passing through the press.

May, 1919.

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ZRPh. = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. Especially: 20 (Kluge); 35, 95 (Stimming).

Abbreviations.

Such abbreviations as are in common use and easy to identify will not be given here. — See also the list of works consulted.

The poet's works are referred to as follows:

A 123, B 123 etc. = The Canterbury Tales (CT).
HF = The House of Fame.
LGW = The Legend of Good Women.
I 123, III 123, etc. = Troilus and Criseyde.
1, 123; 2, 121, etc. = Minor Poems.

The sign (<), as on p. 54: *date* (< *dare*), means only that a word is related to that given in brackets, not developed from this word, which is indicated simply by <.

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PART I

I. Rime as a Criterion in Chaucer.

To the investigator of ME phonology two resources are open: spelling and versification. Which of the two gives us the best information naturally depends upon the conscientiousness of the scribe and the poet concerned. The Chaucer student has the advantage of gaining valuable results from both sources, inasmuch as the best of the MSS presents a consistency in spelling comparable with the poet's own regularity in riming. The MS underlying the greater part of these researches, the Ellesmere MS of the Canterbury Tales, was written about 1420, by a scribe whose dialect was apparently nearly identical with the poet's (See Koch, Introduction, 8). The difference that is nevertheless ascertainable between their languages can easily be accounted for by the changes that arose in the London dialect during the lapse of the half century or so that separated the date of the composition of the CT from that of the MS. In that period the population of the capital was rapidly increasing through a steady immigration from the surrounding counties, and chiefly from the Midlands. This gradually brought about an admixture of Midland dialect features that is much more clearly manifest in the scribe's dialect than in Chaucer's. The difference was no doubt more important than will appear at first sight, for we find that the deviations and inconsistencies in the Ell. MS are comparatively few, evidently owing to the scribe's faithful copying of his text.

A scribe who takes particular care in copying the rimes exactly and who almost infallibly gives identical forms for a word whether it occurs in rimes or elsewhere, is entitled to credence to the exclusion of the numerous other MSS,

most of which abound in inconsistencies and mistakes. Even the best MS of Troilus and Criseyde, the Campsall MS of c. 1413, leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy, and the MSS of the Minor Poems as a rule present a most bewildering confusion. The only MS to be exploited with safety is therefore our Ell. MS.

Not less important is a study of the rimes, which may be consulted for any rime-word of sufficient frequency. The rare occurrence of bad rimes warrants a high degree of reliability even for words which are less frequent in rime, although in such cases the possibility of an emergency rime must not be overlooked.

Chaucer's superiority as a rimer is due to his independence of previous tradition in English prosody. It is an evident and natural fact that, whilst poets of a later period were more or less unable to detach themselves from the influence of their predecessors, preeminently Chaucer, he himself was not subject to any such traditional rimes, which make conclusions so hazardous for the vocalism of a later stage of the language [1]. Ch. was a pioneer in English poetry and made his own rimes. — On the other hand, he was not quite free from French influence, which is not surprising in view of his early familiarity with French poetry. Thus he *may* be indebted to French models for the inaccurate stressing of polysyllabic or dissyllabic [2] words on the final syllable, as in B 4088 *prisoun* : *doun*, which, again, led to the erroneous lengthening of the second vowel in *prísoun*, where the analogy of monosyllables like *soun* (sound), with regular length, tempted the poet to an occasional departure from his natural pronunciation. This was a kind of poetical spelling-pronunciation (Ch. IX). But

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[1] See Gabrielson, 6 ff.

[2] I include among monosyllables words containing an additional *-e* (*es-*, *-ed*), since for our purposes the types G 969 *preef* : *theef* and G 905 *blame* : *name* are practically identical. At all events, no other dissyllables with natural stress on the initial syllable can occur in Ch.'s rimes. E 2117 *cliket* : *wiket* (clicket; wicket) is quite an exceptional type of rime.

even without French influence the poet would certainly have taken the same liberty, since, but for that expedient, he would have been unable to use words of more than one syllable in his rimes, save for the limited number of words of the type given in the foot-note of page 4.

In fact, the circumstance just referred to implies a great disadvantage and restricts the criterion of rime to monosyllabic words. As far as the native vocabulary is concerned, no such obstacle arises, since the native words correspond exactly to the rime-types in Ch., that is they contain — except for compounds and words in *-e/l, m, n, r*; *-ow*; *-y* — only one syllable, which may be followed or not by an inflectional ending. It is otherwise in the Romanic vocabulary, which, with the exception of monosyllables, can be used in rime only by a poetic licence. There is, indeed, no possibility of determining the quantity of the first vowel in *prisoun* by means of Ch.'s rimes. That question must be solved otherwise. See Chapter VI.

II. Stress and Metre in Chaucer.

In the preceding chapter the second syllable of *prísoun* was given a short vowel, because the stress fell on the first syllable. The accentuation is indeed the decisive factor in dealing with the quantity of vowels, and the stress usage in Ch. has to be accurately ascertained before a classification of the vocalism can be made.

We shall find that the Germanic tendency was prevalent in Ch.'s Romanic vocabulary, and it is immaterial in this connexion whether the initial stress had gradually replaced the French stress that is commonly supposed to have existed in the early ME loan-words, or if the native stress tendencies were immediately applied to the fresh loans, which seems to me a more reasonable process. Of course I am referring here only to popular words, for it is self-evident that among educated people the French stress was widely patronised, although in most cases without

enduring results. It seems rather a matter of course that the native speakers, who were familiar with suffixes like *-dom*, *-el*, *-hood*, *-ing*, *-ship*, should withdraw the stress also from the endings of French loans like *chapel*, *malice*, *prisoun*, *honour*, *precious*, etc. Such words were so frequent that their endings were instinctively treated in the same way as the native suffixes, i. e. pronounced without strong stress. Now a vast majority of the polysyllabic loan-words contained a more or less common suffix, so initial stress may *a priori* be held to have gained ground even among the first words borrowed. This was one case of the adaptation that will be further illustrated below. On the other hand, it is obvious that the emphatic stressing which in NE caused a considerable qualitative change of weak-stressed vowels had not set in as yet in Ch.'s period. Rimes like F 513 *ypocryte* : *byte* (hypocrite, bite), C 515 *table* : *mesurable* show that the difference could not have been of a qualitative nature. The present way of emphasizing the strong-stressed syllable at the expense of the others is probably to be traced back to a period not much later then Ch.'s, giving as its immediate result the loss of final *-e*, which was still generally preserved in Ch. See Part III.

Let us now consider to what extent Ch.'s metre is conclusive with regard to the accentuation, and what results may be gained by a metrical investigation. The value of metre as a criterion has been very much overestimated. I will adduce a few typical cases where false conclusions can easily be drawn and where great precaution is necessary in the study of the metrical structure of Ch.'s verse.

Everybody who in reading Ch.'s poetry tries to observe a strictly iambic rhythm (— ˊ — ˊ — ˊ — ˊ) will often come across irregular lines: sometimes a syllable has to be added, sometimes removed. In one line a word requires a stress quite different from that in another line. 'Emendations' often fail to give the line a satisfactory appearance from the point of view of stress. A glance at Skeat's Glossary gives the impression that many words could be

stressed in more ways than one[1]. It is clear, for instance, from a statistical research — and of course a distinct majority is always necessary to determine the stress — that *hónour* was Ch.'s natural stress, as is also admitted by Skeat for a line like

A 582 In hónour dettelees, but he were wood,

but he gives *honóur* for

A 46 Trouth and honour, fredom and curteisye

in spite of the awkward and unnatural stressing of *and* and of *-dom* that would inevitably follow a strict observation of the iambic metre.

How is such a line to be read? I want to call attention first to the very common poetical license in Ch. which may be called initial inversion, as in

B 4389 Fóurty degrées and oon, and more, ywis,

that is, the first syllable of the line could be stressed instead of the second. It seems as though this inversion was occasionally extended further as in

B 3859 Fálse fórtune, and póison to despyse,

and I do not hesitate to assume that in A 46 we have to do with the same kind of inversion extended over the greater part of the line, which ought to be read

A 46 Tróuth and hónour, frédom and cúrteisye.

Generally speaking, there was a possibility of letting the line begin in a falling rhythm and then, sooner or later, swing over to the regular iambic system of the decasyllable, ´ — | ´ — becoming ´ — | — ´.

This kind of inversion, which is by no means infrequent, was naturally a very appropriate means of emphasizing a word at the head of the line. Chaucer was a poet,

[1] I do not refer here to his erroneous method of determining the stress of some words simply by their position in rime. Thus he stresses F 659 *batáilles* : *mervailles*, where the final stress was only artificial (p. 4), whereas the natural stress *bátailles* is evident from

A 61 At mortal bátailles hadde he been fifteene.

and not a verse-maker whose only ambition was a metrically perfect line. The stress therefore cannot be made out with certainty from the first word of a line. Equally irrelevant is a rime-word. Judging by the metre in

D 1129 Prowesse of man, for god, of his goodnesse

we ought to pronounce *prowésse* and *goodnésse*, of which the latter is admittedly wrong and the former, too, ought to have initial stress, since *-esse*, like *-nesse*, was unstressed in Ch., as is easily ascertained from the metre. But there are other metrical peculiarities still to take into account. Let us take

G 1343 Ne nightingale | in the sesoun of May

Skeat gives four instances of *sésoun*, and only one (G 1343) of *sesoún*, F 1034 being irrelevant as a rime-word. There ought to be no doubt then that *sésoun*, which is the normal stress in Ch.'s verse, represented his actual pronunciation. Is G 1343 an exception? In my opinion, it is as unnecessary, or even impossible, to read *sesóun* in the above line as to read, say, *gladdér*, *swerýng* in

G 1342 Was never bridd | gladder agayn the day
C 633 The heighe god forbad | swerynng at all

It is clear from these instances that the decasyllable occasionally permitted a final inversion, resulting in the type $\acute{-}\ -\ |\ -\ \acute{-}$, which was not rare at the head of a line. Of course it is quite possible that in Ch.'s time educated people who knew French preferred to read *sesoún*, but here we are concerned with the natural pronunciation of the day.

We have found that the study of stress in Ch. labours under the difficulty of many limitations as regards the conclusiveness of metre for the accentuation. Nevertheless, the considerable majority of lines, where a natural reading coincides with the normal metre of the decasyllable, justifies the conclusion that the Germanic accentuation was prevalent, as might, indeed, be expected in view of the Germanic stress tendencies that had influenced the French loan-words from their earliest appearance in English (p. 6).

Our conclusions are built primarily upon words of two[1] syllables, for trisyllabic words could take stress on either the first or the last syllable without changing the rhythm. It cannot be assumed, however, that trisyllabic words should have final stress, if dissyllabic words had not. So we place it on the first syllable, and, following our earlier argument, we may safely assume that the originally strong-stressed final syllable of the French word received only a secondary stress in the Englishman's pronunciation, whereas the initial syllable got a strong stress. In English ⏑ — ⏑ became ⏑ — ⏑ by a very natural transposition.

Even in words of more than three syllables the antepenult as a rule received the stress. In words of five syllables we have no metrical criterion for stress, for the reason given above in the mention of the trisyllables, but in words of four syllables the stress evidently fell on the antepenult, as appears from lines like

C 404 And no thyng for *correccionn* of synne

If a word of four syllables could not have initial stress, it seems even more impossible for still longer words to take stress on the first syllable. In fact, the stress on the antepenult is phonologically natural. Let us consider the process of the assimilation of a word like AF *possibilité*. If the English speaker had followed the native stress tendencies, he would have pronounced this word *póssibilitee*, as he said *póssible*. But the leap was evidently too big, and in his conscious or unconscious attempt at final stress he took the intermediate course and put the stress on the antepenult.

[1] For practical purposes I do not count final *-e* as a special syllable.

III. Stress of Prefixed Words in Chaucer.

In words containing a prefix the native stress tendency was not carried through consistently, owing to special influences. This is the place to take a closer view of this interesting problem, as far as it can be illustrated by the poet's metre.

The material I have collected for this purpose contains a sufficiently large number of instances of words with common prefixes to allow of conclusions as to the general state of things on this point. None of these instances are initial words or rimes, since a word in either of those positions, and especially in a rime, is suspect and does not necessarily render the actual stress (p. 8). — On the other hand, it should be pointed out in passing that, generally speaking, the stress of a word in those inconclusive lines, too, *does* agree metrically with what has been ascertained to be the actual stress of that word. This only shows that as a rule the poet observed the metrical system of the decasyllable.

The irrelevancy of words in initial and final position will be shown by a couple of examples.

E 1480 *Conseil* to axe of any that is here
G 353 *Parfit* in his lerninge, goddes knight

Of course these lines cannot be adduced to prove final stress for *conseil* and *parfit*. A vast majority of instances testify to initial stress in these words, and in these lines too we must lay the stress on the first syllable, which is not infrequently the case in Ch.'s poetry. In G 353 we might also count with the possibility of an omitted first half-foot, which is preferable with regard to the natural way of pronouncing *lérning(e)*. — For final *-e* in polysyllables, see below (Part III).

It is true that the initial inversion could also be extended beyond the first foot, as in

B 3811 In this *meschief* he wayled and eek wepte

where the natural stress of *meschief* (p. 16) is attained only

by inversion. All the difficulties discussed in the last chapter have to be considered here, too. Thus lines where the respective words occur as rimes are irrelevant, because here the metrical stress invariably came to rest on the final syllable — not counting *-e*.

B 888 *enquerynge* (: sprynge). Cp. V 1538 *enquére*.
II 838 *ententyf* (: stryf). Cp. I 332 *enténtyf*.
D 881 *dishonoùr* (: Arthour). Cp. V 1066 *dishónour*.

In words containing more than three syllables we must here too assume that the stress consistently fell on the antepenult, as in C 471 By *sùperflúiteè abhóminable*. Cp. the contrasting stresses in A 484 *advérsitee* — II 1435 *ádversarie*[1].

Thus the following survey does not contain words of more than three syllables. To be able to determine the stress tendencies I have found it suitable to keep apart the dissyllabic verbs from other dissyllabic words, since these verb were almost invariably end-stressed. As to the trisyllabic verbs with an unstressed medial syllable, the metre of course cannot decide whether we have initial or final stress. For the bulk of trisyllabic words we have assumed initial stress (p. 9), but with regard to the exceptional stress in verbs of two syllables, we may safely conclude final stress also for the trisyllabic verbs of the above type.

It may also be interesting to observe if the position in checked and unchecked syllables has been of importance for the accentuation, so these two groups are here kept apart as regards the nouns and adjectives.

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[1] The suffix *-arie*, as well as *-orie*, had an unstressed *-ie* in AF (CF *-aire*, *-oire*), so *adversarie* was practically parallel to a trisyllabic word with an *-e* added. Like suffixes in general *-arie* was unstressed. Noteworthy, however, is the frequent *contrárie* (p. 21).

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns[1]		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
accórd B 4069	ábsence V 1396 ábsent 7, 93 7, 138	accórde G 638 LGW 2027	áccident E 607 III 918 IV 1505	accórdant A 37 A 3363 B 4026
afféctes III 1391	accéss[2] II 1543 affráy 4, 214 7, 334	affráyed B 563 B 4468 3, 296 agrée I 409	*ádvertence* IV 698	accúsour III 1450 agréable 18, 68
allý G 297		allýe C 613		alliaunce B 3523
anóy B 1320		anóye B 3979		
		apése III 22	*ápparence* F 218 F 1157	apprówour D 1343 (steward)
		aquéynte HF 250	áppetit (or appe- tit?) B 3390	aquéyntance D 1342 D 1991
aráy 4, 176 5, 219	*aspéct*[2] A 1087 II 682	aráye B 252 F 1187		
		ascénde		ascéndent B 302
assáyes E 697 LGW 9		assáye D 286		
		avále A 3122 (to doff)		atténdance D 933
			áventure A 25 C 934 D 1224 F 659	avántage F 772 G 731
avaúnt III 289		avaúnte III 318 (to boast)		avàuntour B 4107 II 724 III 308 III 314
	cómfort G 32 1, 77 5, 170	confórte E 1918 I 249 V 234		
		commánde E 533		
cómmune[3] A 2509 B 155 E 431		commúne F 693 G 982		

[1] Under this heading I also place adjectives. — Words with a different stress in ModE are italicized.

[2] Of these two the former still *may* have end-stress and the latter appears with end-stress as late as early NE. See Metzger, 56, 71.

[3] F 107 — — — *as to commune entente* is an instance of metrical attraction, so common at the end of a line. The rising stress in the

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
	cómpas G 45 4, 137 HF 1302	compásse LGW 1414 LGW 1543	cómpaignye A 2311	
	cómplet[1] B 4379 V 828	compléyne A 908 B 4539 C 239 C 241		
	cómpleynt A 2862 E 1881 F 948 2, 43	conclúde A 1358 F 1422		
	concéit (conception) G 1214 I 996 III 804 LGW 1764	concéive B 3675		
	cóncorde E 1129	confésse F 494	*cónfessour* D 2239 D 2260 D 2265	
	cónduit LGW 852	confóunde G 137 1, 5		
	cónfus A 2230 G 463 IV 356	conjúre II 1733 III 193		
	cónquest LGW 1676 LGW 1298	*conquére* B 542 7, 37 LGW 585		
	cónseil A 1141 A 1147 A 3504 B 425		cónsistorie IV 65	considere A 3088 F 675
	cónstant E 1047			
	cónstance E 1000			
	cónstreynt II 776	constréyne E 800 F 764 F 769	cóntenance F 1485 LGW 1738	continue 7, 6
	cóntract D 1306			
	cónvers V 1810	convérte I 999 I 1004		

rime-word was given by way of anticipation also to the preceding word. No conclusions can be drawn from such lines (p. 8). Cp. *profred* in

G 1066 Ful sooth it is that swich profred servyse.

[1] That was the normal stress of the word also in early NE. See Metzger, 58. — But

E 1893 The fourthe day compleet fro noon to noon

where *compleet* may be interpreted in its original verbal sense.

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
debát 3, 1192		defámed C 415		
defáute B 3718 C 370 D 1810		defét (exhausted) V 618 V 1219	délicat E 682 E 1646	delíbere IV 169 IV 211
delít A 335 B 1135 B 3340			délitable E 62	
				depárdieux B 39 II 1058
		desérve LGW 1624		*désirous* II 1101
desért (merit) 4, 31			désolat 7, 62	
			déstinee A 2323 III 734 IV 969	
	discláundre[1] IV 564	disclándre LGW 1031		
	discórd E 432			discórdaunt II 1037
	discréet B 4061 E 410 III 943			discóvere E 1942 G 696
		discússe 5, 624		
	disdáyn II 1217			
		disése (to disturb) III 1468		dishérited LGW 1065
	despéyr LGW 2557	despéyre F 943		dishónest E 876
		dispúte III 858 3, 505		dishónour V 1066
	despýt D 2061 LGW 1822			despítous(ly) A 1596 A 1777 A 4274 B 605
		destóurbe C 340		
		distróye LGW 1318	diligent I 957	dissímule I 322 III 434 V 1613
divérs B 211 D 286 I 61				
		embráce D 1803		
	emprýse (enterprise) B 348	empránted E 2117		

[1] As to the interchange of *des-*, *dis-*, see Part III.

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
	encéns A 2429	*encénse* G 395		enchéson (occasion) F 456
	encrées A 275 A 2184 B 237 IV 1257	encrésse A 1315 B 1271 E 50		
	engýn G 339 II 565	engéndre A 4		
	ensámple A 496 A 505 A 520	enséled V 151		enlúmined 1, 73
	enténte B 147 D 192 E 189			enténtyf I 332 HF 1120
	éntree II 77			
	énvye 3, 173	énvye (?) D 142[1] envýe (to vie) 3, 406	énvyous B 365 III 1700	*envýous* II 666, 857 envóluped (wrapped up) C 942
		imprésse III 1543	importable E 1144	
			impossible D 2231 I 783 III 525	inmórtal I 103
		infécte H 39 LGW 2242		
			infernal LGW 1886 V 368	
			influence E 1968 III 618	
			infortune A 2021 B 3591 III 1625	
			innocence II 1048	
			innocent B 618 B 1756 II 1723	

[1] *I nil nat envye no virginitee.* Skeat omits *nat*, which gives a different stress. His suggestion may be true, however, in view of the fact that this verb seems to have had final stress in early NE, as it has still in some dialects (NED). The double negation was not rare in Ch.: C 383, 555, etc. — Cp. also the adj.

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
			intellect A 2803 G 339	
	escháunge A 278			
	excúse 7, 305		éxcellent C 39 E 1987	
			éxecute[2] A 1664 III 622	
	expért[1] (adj.) A 577 B 4 D 174 II 1367	expóunde B 1725	éxercyse B 4029	
	exprés C 182 D 719 D 1169		*éxpulsif* A 2749	
	mischáunce D 1334 I 118 IV 1362			misáunter I 766
	méschief[3] A 493 B 3513 4, 58 LGW 1278			
			páramour II 236	
	párdon A 687		párdoner C 318	
	párfit A 422 A 532 A 1271			
preámble (learned word) D 831				
précept D 65				
préface G 271				
présent[4] LGW 1935 E 470 5, 423		presúme E 1503	préscience IV 987 IV 998 IV 1011	

[1] As a noun this word is not instanced before 1825 in NED. In ModE the adjective too has often initial stress. Cp. I 67 *éxpert.*

[2] Here the stress was either ˊ — ˋ or ˋ — ˊ. To find the source we have no doubt to turn to the stem-stressed forms of the French verb: *èxecút-*. Cp. D 2010 *exécutour,* III 617 *exécutrice,* where the stress could not reach *ex-*, as it preceded the antepenult.

[3] As to the spellings *mes-*, *mis-*, see Part III.

[4] In II 460, 1, 19 *In my (thy) presence* we have evidently another case of initial inversion.

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
próces B 3511 F 658 F 1345 LGW 1553	próblem D 2219			
prófit A 249 9, 26		pronóunce C 335		
próvost B 1806	púrpos I 5, 79 I 379	*purpóse* IV 1350		
	púrsuit II 959 II 1744			
rébel A 833 A 3046 16, 23		recórde LGW 1760	rècomaúnde[1] B 278 V 1323	
		recóvere I 383 III 181 B 27 (see p. 18 n. 1)	rècoménde[1] G 544	
réfut (refuge) B 546 B 852 G 75 1, 33		refús (refused) I 570	rémedie A 1216 A 3525 V 61	
		relésse B 3367	rémenaunt[2] 5, 271	
rélykes A 701 LGW 321 I 153	repréve C 595 D 16 E 2204	repénte 4, 17 repréve LGW 1566		
	requést 10, 76	requére D 1010 E 430 4, 155		
	réscous A 2643 I 478	*rescówe* (to rescue) LWG 515		
	respýt[3] G 543 5, 648	*respýte*[3] F 1582	rétenue A 2502 E 270	
rével A 4402 C 65 E 392			révelous B 1194	
révers B 4167 D 2056 14, 6			réverence III 40	
reward II 1133 V 1736 LGW 1622				

[1] In these verbs containing a double prefix the stress on *re-* could only be secondary.

[2] As a rule the metre requires only a dissyllabic value for this word (A 2277 etc.).

[3] ModE has [*réspit*] for the verb as well as the noun.

Dissyllables			Trisyllables	
Nouns		Verbs	Initial	Medial
Unchecked	Checked			
	súbget (subject) E 482 I 231 II 828 V 1790			
		submitted B 35		
	súbstaunce C 539 IV 217 IV 1505			
	súbtil C 141 5, 272 LGW 672			
			súccessour E 138	
	súffraunce F 788		súffisaunce 3, 1031 10, 15	
	súffraunt IV 1584 3, 1010		súffisaunt E 960	
	súspect[1] (suspicion) C 263 E 905		sústenance LGW 2041	
	súrname 6, 31	surmóunte III 1038		
	súrplus IV 60			

The accentuation of prefixed words evidently points to the influence of a great many conflicting tendencies.

In one case, however, the process is clear: the verbs generally had an unstressed prefix[2]. For *envye*, see pp. 15, 20, for *execute* (p. 16).

[1] E 541 *suspéct* is an adj. and may have preserved its original character of a past participle. Cp. *compleet* (E 1893).

[2] Some lines point to the possibility of initial stress for a few words with *con-*, although the material is too scanty to allow of any definite conclusions. Compare, however, the vacillating stress in ModE *conjure* (now with a difference in meaning), *construe* (earlier also *conster*).

F 1422 I wol *conclude* that it is bet for me
A 3067 What may I *conclude* of this longe serie

II 1733 Nece, I *conjure* and heighly you defende
B 1834 This yonge child to *coniure* he began

III 33 Whan they can not *construe* how it may io
B 1718 This preyde he him to *construe* and declare

As to the dissyllabic nouns and adjectives, we have to distinguish between one group containing prefixes that were preeminently found in verbs and analogically preserved their unstressed character in other words as well and another group in which the normal initial stress was preserved either because the verbs with the prefix in question did not outnumber the other words with the same prefix or because words with a certain prefix were not frequent enough for analogical influences to operate in either direction. — Prefixes of the former type, chiefly found in verbs, were *a-*, *de-*, *di(s)-*, *en- (em-)*, *ex- (es-)*, *re-*; of the latter type, quite as frequent or more so in other words, were *con- (com-)*, *par- (per-)*, *pre-*, *pro- (pur-)*, *sub-*, *sur-*.

To illustrate the relative frequency of these prefixes I will give some approximate figures on the question. The works examined are Troilus, and as prose texts the Tale of Melibeus and the Parson's Tale. It must also be borne in mind that words of more than three syllables were important too, since in these the prefix was always unstressed (p. 11).

a-			de-			di(s)-			en- (em-)			ex- (es-)			re-			Work
Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	
63	5	18	32	12	4	23	6	9	38	1	13	26	5	8	52	4	8	Tale of Mel.
78	21	9	57	18	9	49	16	20	32	3	28	24	22	15	73	5	18	Tale of Parson
117	20	28	126	7	27	58	18	63 [1]	57	9	55 [1]	32	5	28	84	5		Troilus
258	46		215	37		130	40		127	13		82	32		209	14		
304		55	252		40	170		92	140		96	114		51	223		26	Total

[1] In some cases the suitability of a word for a rime made it more frequent in poetry than elsewhere. Such is the case with *distresse, entente, suffise* and others.

con-(com-)			par-(per-)			pre-			pro-(pur-)			sub-			Work
Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	Verb	Polys.	Noun	
86	24	88	3	4	2	1	6	5	10	2	23	9	2	3	Tale of Mel.
62	91[1]	34	9	4	6		1	2	10	7	18	7	6	8	Tale of Parson
60	24	32	3	3	5		2	6	19	5	32	25	7	6	Troilus
208	139		15	11		1	9		39	14		41[2]	15		
347		154	26		13	10		13	53		73	56		17	Total

It is apparently immaterial, as far as Ch.'s accentuation is concerned, whether the vowel of the prefix stood in a checked or an unchecked syllable.

The exceptions to the main rule which may be derived from this roughly calculated survey of the frequence of the different prefixes are due to other counter-acting influences. Thus certain endings that were generally unstressed in other words account for an abnormal stressing of the first syllable, even when it was a prefix. In *ábsent* and *ábsence* we easily observe the influence of the contrasting *présent, présence* and there were a great number of other words with the same endings (*prúdent, prúdence*, etc.)[3]. — The initial stress in *éntree, énvye* was probably due to the analogy of the common suffixes *-ee, -ie*. — The suffixes *-el, -ic* were generally unstressed, so there is nothing surprising about *rébel, rével, rélyk*. — *Révers* was perhaps due to the frequency of *ál the revers, nóght the revers* with *al, nought* emphatically stressed. A similar rhythmical influence may account for *réscous* often occurring in the expression *fór* (*ín*) *the rescous of*[4]. — On the other hand

[1] Strikingly frequent in the Parson's Tale are *confession, contricion*.

[2] See p. 19 Note.

[3] In such a way we must also explain the initial stress in ModE *distant* (not found in Ch.'s poetry). As a rule *dis-* and *-ant* were both unstressed, and then the stress naturally fell on the first syllable.

[4] Lines beginning with *At request of* (A 1819), *At regard of* (5. 58) have to be read with a double initial inversion. Metrically interesting is also

IV 86 Right no *resport* to *respect* of your ese.

concéit may be due to the regular *decéit*, *recéit*, or possibly to *concéive*. — With regard to *contrarie* the stress was vacillating, as it was still in early NE: A 3057, C 595, 2, 64 *cóntrarie* — A 1859, B 4470, I 418, 637, 645, etc. *contrárie*. The verb of course had a stressless prefix: D 1044, E 1497, F 705 *contrárie*.

Words in *mes-* soon got their prefix mixed up with the unstressed native *mis-*. Only in *mischief* was initial stress victorious.

The trisyllabic words had a tendency towards initial stress, and it appears that if no disturbing influence was at work, the prefix of a trisyllable (if not a verb) was stressed. This tendency was so strong that even some words where the influence of a related verb seems inevitable had initial stress — at least in Ch.'s poetry. Especially noticeable is the stress on *in* (*-im*) in the trisyllables, which seems to have been carried through rather consistently. This is easily accounted for by the fact that the other words with *in-* — for which we find regularly the French *en-* — were too few to counterbalance the initial stress tendency of the trisyllables. — The vacillating stress in *envyous* points to a vacillating stress of *envye*, at least as a verb (cp. p. 15 Note).

IV. Anglo-French.

The manifold dialectal contributions to the French language in England after the Conquest make it hard to decide where the French loan-words in ME really originated. By using the term Anglo-French the dialectal origin of the several words is rather concealed than revealed, since the AF jargon, a melting-pot of Northern French, Central F and even English traits, had never time to develop into a homogeneous language before it was supplanted by the vernacular. It is true that the general appearance of AF presents chiefly Northern French peculiarities, distinct from the corresponding CF forms, but even these Northern in-

gredients are hard to analyse without making mistakes as to the Norman, Picardian, Walloon, or other influences. I have therefore used the term AF generically for all sources, except those of undisputable CF origin — as *oi* for *ei*, although there is no denying the fact that even such words could or did pass through AF before reaching ME. The CF influence, however, appears chiefly in words of late importation, many of which seem to have been imported by Ch. himself.

The Latin element deserves our attention inasmuch as one is often liable to make mistakes as to the Latin or French origin for a word. The fact that a word is not instanced in the OF texts does not necessarily preclude French mediation. In any case, even the words whose Latin origin may be considered certain were almost consistently adapted to the phonology of the French loans. The vocalism of the Romanic loan-words in general presents a uniformity which may be traced back to one source: AF.

In default of any safe criterion, it may be appropriate to determine the Latin or French origin of a word by chronological considerations, assuming a Latin source if the word is instanced earlier in ME than in OF. From this point of view it is not admissible to follow Remus in his etymologies of *impudence, -ent*, (p. 81), *insolence, -ent* (p. 82), *imprudent* (p. 101) etc., which are not given in French (Hatzf.-D) before the 15th and 16th c. Nor can I realize the advantage of assuming different origins for the noun and the related adjective, as he does in the case of *impudence* < 'afrz. impudence', but *impudent* < 'afrz. impudent oder lat. impudent-', etc.

A good survey of the Latin element in ME in general is given by Dellit, who, however, seems to overestimate the Latin influence on ME, and whose criteria are often delusive. So he rejects (p. 12) a Latin origin for *consume* because of the vowel, whereas in fact any word with L *u* was pronounced in the same way as OF *ü* in ME (Comp. E 1812 *coitu* (L): *eschu* 'averse'). In this case French origin is nevertheless preferable, because the word appears in OF

as early as the 12th c. As for the Latin element in Ch., we find only a small number of words where Latin origin is undisputable[1]. I leave out of consideration such of his works as were adoptations of Latin works, such as the Astrolabe, based on a Latin treatise by Messahala, or mere translations, such as Boece, in which Latin influence was more or less inevitable. Even the Italian *Philostrato* probably prompted the borrowing of Latin words for the composition of Troilus and Criseyde.

V. Adaptation of the French Loans to the Native Phonology.

The gradual assimilation of the French vocabulary to the native stock of words was accompanied by an adaptation of the new words to the native sounds. If it is most likely that the French stress was immediately replaced by English stress in the vernacular, there is no doubt that the French sounds were replaced by their English equivalents, even if these did not have exactly the same phonetical value. Thus the vowel in ME *declāre* < AF *declar(er)* was naturally given the same value as the vowel in the native *fāre*, *spāre*, etc., no matter if the native speaker perceived a difference in the pronunciation of the two languages or not.

Nevertheless, we find instances of attempts at transferring the foreign sound itself. Such a process took place if the native language did not contain any suitable equivalent for a sound or a sound-group. Thus it is clear that, but for the invasion of French words into ME, Modern English would not present the combinations [*ēⁱst*], [*aist*], [*aust*], [*ānt*], [*aunt*], the ME equivalents of which were *āst*, *īst*, *ūst*, *ānt*, *ūnt*, which groups did not exist in the ver-

[1] Frieshammer also gives too much prominence to Latin sources. Of the first 20 words quoted (p. 67) I have found more than half in OF.

nacular. It is seen at once that the lengthening before *st* or *n/consonant* did not include all vowels. This question will be discussed below for each vowel separately. It should only be pointed out here that the lengthening before *st* must have taken place already in AF (see Part II: *a*, *e*) and that the groups *ęst*[1], *ǫst* occurred in native words too.

Chaucer's rimes are naturally not conclusive for the vowels in these groups, since all the rimes bearing upon this question were self-rimes. But length is none the less undeniable, being presupposed by the later development, for we cannot possibly assume that, if a group like *ăst* or *ŭnt* had ever occurred in the French loans, a lengthening of such groups would take place in late ME, and only in borrowed words. In several cases the spelling contributes to prove long vowels. Thus *ou* is invariably written to denote the length of *ū* before *n/consonant*, and *au* is chiefly written for *ā* in the same position. See, further, Part II: *ā*, *ū*.

There were a few more phonetical novelties peculiar to the new loans. There were new diphthongs: *iu* as the equivalent of AF *ü*; *oi*; *ui*. As to the consonants, we should point out the appearance of *initial dz*, *v*, *z*, — as in *jalous*, *vain*, *zele* (zeal) — of which the two last sounds could have been familiar only in a few ME dialects. Cp. the present dialectal pronunciation in isolated parts of the South.

VI. Vocalic Quantity in Open Syllables.

What quantity did the borrowed words receive in their new environment? This question offers many difficult points.

As far as analogous conditions prevailed, an adaptation

[1] In the vernacular *ĕst* was more common, which accounts for the dubious quantity in many words of French origin containing this group. As lengthening was regular in *est* in spite of the majority of native *ĕst*, we may assume that before *st* a consistent lengthening had taken place in the earliest loans.

took place here as well, and for monosyllabic[1] words that process is easy to follow. A couple of rimes will illustrate the point.

cave : knave B 498	maat (dejected) : debaat[2] B 130
cleere : heere A 169	preef : theef G 969
enclyne : myne B 3091	divyn : wyn B 3245
suppose : nose D 785	cloos : toos B 4521
doute : aboute D 1711	soun (sound) : doun D 973

These typical examples instantly show that the monosyllables were phonetically adapted to the corresponding types in the vernacular, and it should be noticed that here a single final consonant did not shorten the vowel, which happened invariably in the closed syllables of polysyllabics. The length of the vowel in monosyllables was due to the fact that in choosing a substitute for the French combination short vowel + short consonant there were two possibilities: short vowel + long consonant or long vowel + short consonant, of which the latter combination was preferred on account of the frequency of the inflected forms, which naturally favoured long quantity.

It is fruitless to discuss the question whether the result of lengthening in the open syllables of monosyllables was perfectly identical with the length in a close syllable, that is whether, for example, the vowels in *cave* and *maat* were identical. One might be tempted to assume that accurate identity was reached only after the disappearance of *-e*, but for our purposes such a distinction is superfluous. It is remarkable, however, that Ch. has hardly any rimes of $\bar{e}$ in a loan-word with $\bar{e} <$ OE *e* in open syllable.

I will now examine words of more than one syllable, and begin with words of the trisyllabic type. — From the present point of view it is suitable to divide the polysyllables into two groups: the dissyllables and the rest.

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[1] Here too I do not count final *-e*, as a special syllable. An unstressed prefix is negligible too.

[2] A selfrime, since no native words containing *ā/cons.* existed in ME. OE *ā* had become $\bar{o}$.

That the polysyllabic words, apart from the dissyllables, follow the development of the trisyllabic type with regard to the vocalism of the stressed syllable, is not surprising in view of the parallelism of these two groups in point of stress (p. 9).

It has already been pointed out by Luick, Anglia 30, 1 ff., that short quantity was typical for the open stressed syllables of trisyllabic words. Thus Ch. must have had short vowel, for example, in the following words.

ă in A 1990 ádamant; B 3741 cápitain; E 817 compárisoun.

ĕ in A 1996 félonye; IV 1014 necéssiteé; B 3670 sénatour.

ŏ in A 587, B 4145, F 51 cólerik; B 3908 hónestee; V 1494 próphesye.

The short quantity of the stressed vowels in these words is not verified for Ch. either by rimes or by any conclusive spellings. But when we are in a position to ascertain the stress of the words and when we know that the ModE vowel-system in general is based upon the ME quantities, we need not hesitate to assume that the trisyllabic type, which now — with the exception of a few definite cases — consistently shows a short vowel, had the same short quantity also in Ch.

With the dissyllables[1] the case is different. Luick assumes long quantity as normal for this type. It is hard to decide what should be considered the normal development for a group that contains so many hitherto unclassified exceptions. Length is true of the monosyllables, short quantity of the trisyllabic type, and the dissyllables were divided between both, according to principles that will now be set forth. I will first give a number of examples in illustration. — The ME equivalent of AF *ü* will be treated separately. — Where the stress seems doubtful, the line quoted will be given in a foot-note.

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[1] Monosyllables + *e* being counted as monosyllables, as has been done above.

mĕtal D 1064, 4, 201, 9, 29

tăbard A 20
clărree[1] (claret) A 1471

cătel A 373, B 27, 4017 C 594
chăpel A 171
vĕssel B 3338, 3416, 3418

pătent sb. A 315

lĕgende[2] A 314

bănner (banner) A 966, 976 2410, 7, 30
cŏler (collar) A 3239[3], V 811, 1660
mănner (manner) A 71, B 519, 1689, 3951, C 627

hŏnest A 246, C 328, E 333[4], E 2028, H 75

ăbbey B 4044[5]
ăley (alley) B 1758, E 2324

fŏlye (folly) F 1002, 3, 610

glŏrie A 2239
sĕrye[6] (argument) < AF serie < L sĕriēs A 3067
tărie (to tarry) A 3409

măgik A 416, F 1125, 1202
lŏgik A 286
rĕlik A 701, LGW 321

vĕnym (venom) LWG 2593

sătin B 137, 3, 253

hăbit A 1378
mĕryt IV 965[7]

bācoun B 4035, D 217, 418
cāpoun C 856, D 1839, LGW 1389

fāvour B 3914, 5, 626[8]
lābour IV 422, 1, 106
lāvour (laver, basin) D 287
lēchour (lecher) D 767 (p. 44)
rāsour (razor) A 2417, B 3246
sāvour G 887, II 269, 5, 274
tābour D 2268

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[1] rr = r. Gemination in polysyllables did not exist, as is clear from the inconsistent use of single and double consonants. Generally the French spelling was preserved. Cp. *vessel*, *abbey*. See also p. 29 (bottom).

[2] The ModE vacillation points back to ME *ĕ* and *ē*, of which the latter, if it existed, was a spelling-pron. (p. 48).

[3] And eek bihinde, ón hir cóler aboute

[4] And wondred hem | in how honest manere. — Here metrical attraction was at work.

[5] Than is a clocke, or an abbey orlogge Cp. Notes 1, 4.

[6] Riming with *merye* (merry).

[7] In hir mérytes sothly for to be

[8] Most MSS have: Than wol I doon this favour to hir that she, which gives *favour* its natural stress and is, therefore, preferable to Skeat's reading: Than wol I doon hir this favour that she.

trẽmour[1] V 255 fā́mous HF 1233, LGW 1404
vā́pour F 393

mḗsure[2] (measure) E 256
nā́ture 5, 617, 629, 668, 676

It can hardly be ascribed to a mere chance that the lengthening of the stressed vowels in dissyllables took place only before endings of a certain type. It seems to be a matter of fact that length was favoured by a following *u* or *i̯u*, the latter being the ME representative of AF *ü* (see p. 33). How is such a lengthening to be explained? Could not a somewhat parallel development be looked for in the old *u*-umlaut, although a diphthongization like the OE was counteracted by the analogy of the general lengthening of *a-*, *e-*, *o-* in words ending in *-e(n)* (*nāme*, *māke*, etc.)? By analogy, too, no such lengthening affected *i-*, *u-*. Phonetically a lengthening of this kind is not unlikely. The process was simply an anticipation of the following back vowel, resulting in a gradual lengthening of a preceding heterogeneous vowel. Naturally no lengthening arose in a preceding back vowel, since in that case both vowels were of the same nature and no disturbing influence came in. Therefore *ō* in F 913 *ódour* should rather be put down as a spelling-pronunciation. In words of later adoption, when *-oun*, *-our*, etc. had been reduced to *ən*, *əə*, and, consequently a back vowel no longer existed, the lengthening naturally could not take place, if indeed a tendency towards lengthening existed at that time at all.

Of course a final velar syllable could not very well extend its influence beyond the preceding vowel, that is the stressed vowels of the trisyllabic type remained short, according to the general rule (p. 26). — Examples:

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[1] ModE *tremor* has short vowel. The original length may be reflected in the occasional length mentioned in the CD.

[2] I have not been able to find the word elsewhere than in rimes, but, like other words in *-ure*, it must have had initial stress. Here a shortening took place later on, but *ea* points back to earlier length, still given by Gill (1621).

ămorous A 2861, LGW 1189
compărisoun E 817
ŏrisoun (prayer) A 2261
sĕnatour B 3670, 4561
trĕgetour (juggler) HF 1277
vĕnimous B 4345, 1, 149

Nor was length secured by the back vowel in the penult of a trisyllabic word. Such a syllable was only weak-stressed and did not modify the quality of the preceding stressed vowel. Accordingly, we have no lengthening in

fĕlonye (crime) A 1996
Iălousye (jealousy) A 3294

In fact, the trisyllabic type was not subject to any influence of the neighbouring syllables, except in the case of the penult being a hiatus-*i*, as in B 3544 *lĕgioun*. See below.

The rule given above for the lengthening of the stressed vowel in certain dissyllabic words presents some sporadic exceptions, which probably existed even in Ch.'s period. A short vowel no doubt was found in G 1435 *drăgoun*, where *ă* seems surprising. But were there at that time any cases whatever of *ā/g*? — H 24 *găloun* (gallon) chiefly occurred connected with a stressed noun, as it was here — *a gáloun wýn* — where the secondary stress on *-oun* was apt to disappear and *u* could weaken to *o* or even drop, as was likely if the regular *of* was inserted before the noun. — A 709 *lĕssoun* very likely represents a spelling-pronunciation, or, as seems natural in view of its use as a church and school term, an imitation of French, which had a short vowel. Luick, Anglia 30,15, suggests that the French *ts* in *leçon* caused the shortening in ME. 'Dies *ts* ergab in ME *ss*, d. i. langes *s*, welches auf die beiden silben verteilt, also zur geminata werden konnte.' Now it is well known that as a rule this *ts* did not give a long *s* in ME: *chāce*, *trāce*, etc. Moreover, gemination in other than monosyllabic words (with or without *-e*) did not exist in ME. Between *message* = *me/sage* and *co/rage* the only difference in this respect is one of spelling, the etymological

ss being preserved in *message* also as an expression of the unvoiced *s*. Compare *má(n)nere*, *sú(m)mer*, where *nn*, *mm* were normalized later on. As to *lesson*, the early ME (Ancr. Ri.) spelling was *lescun*, where the French *c* was retained, but being inaccurate as the sign of *s* in this position, it was improved by the insertion of an *s*. Now *sc* often interchanged with *ss*, and in *lesson* this *ss* gave rise to a short preceding vowel.

On the other hand, an unexpected lengthening has sometimes taken place, owing to analogy or to spelling-pronunciation.

dṓtage A 3898	rḗgals (royal attributes)
nā́tal III 150	LGW 2128
nā́tyf[1] (native) I 102	

In *dōtage* the corresponding verb had evidently caused a lengthening.

The length in *nātal*, *nātyf* is easily explained as due to the influence of *nācioun*, *nāture*. In a word like *rēgals* spelling-pron. is quite plausible, and then the vowel was *ē* (not *ę̄*).

It is more than doubtful, however, if *i* had length, for instance, in

final LGW 2101, I 682	licence D 855
libel D 1595	tyraunt A 961, B 3727, F 1368

For further discussion of this question, see Part II: *i*.

To me it does not seem admissible to assume, as is done by Luick, Anglia 30,20, that the lengthening in question affected all the vowels. He gives *prīsoun*, *cītee*, etc. as the early ME type, assuming that the shortening here was of a later date. To begin with, it is not intelligible why such a *partial* shortening should take place at a later period. As to an early ME *prīsūn*, it could have

[1] *So aungellyk was hir natyf beautee* seems to favour final stress for *natyf*, but *-if* was generally unstressed, and we have to do in this line only with an attraction of the rime-word, which here had an artificial stress. Such lines are not rare. See p. 27, Notes 4, 5.

existed only if the word had level stress, in which case the two syllables would have been treated like two separate words, resulting in *prī, sūn*. But such a stress did not agree with the native tendencies of accentuation. See, above, page 6. On the other hand, it seems a natural phonetical law that the open strong-stressed syllable of a dissyllabic word had its vowel pronounced short, except in the case where a velar syllable followed, or — and this second exception will now be treated — if the stressed vowel itself was in hiatus.

As the rule of length in hiatus-vowels applies also to words of the trisyllabic type, there is no reason to keep the two types apart in this respect. Examples:

gę́aunt (giant) B 3298, V 838, 5, 344
pī́etee III 1033
rī́ot A 4392
lę́oun (lion) A 1598, B 3106, D 692
vī́olence IV 562

Length in this case was the natural result of an attempt carefully to avoid a fusion of the two adjacent vowels. Thus we have to do here with the same phenomenon as has lead to the differentiation of *ðə, ðĭ* for the definite article, according to the character of the initial sound of the next word. It should be observed, too, that the result of this kind of lengthening is not the same as that of the regular lengthening in open syllable, inasmuch as this lengthening of *e*[1] evidently did not give *ę̄*, but *ē*. This must be connected with the undeniable fact that a vowel is more 'distinct' as it comes nearer to the high-front position. Moreover, the alphabetical value of *e* must have been *ę̄* (p. 49).

This is the place to examine another case of lengthening in trisyllabics. We find length in the open stressed vowel of a trisyllabic word, if the penult was a hiatus-*i*. — Examples:

á̄miable A 138
lę́giouns[2] B 3544
mḗsure E 256 (p. 28)
nā́ciouns A 53

[1] I have found no instance of *o* in this position.

[2] If the vowel was *ę̄*, the word had a spelling-pronounciation.

nā́ture 5, 617	státut[1] (ā?) A 327, D 198, 893
ṓdious D 2190	státure[1] (ā?) A 83, 3, 828
pā́cience (patience) 4, 40	vā́riaunt (variant) G 1175

This kind of lengthening has a different character from that of a hiatus-vowel. Here again, as in the case of the normal lengthening in open syllable, ę̄ and ǭ appear as open vowels, and here, too, *i* could not receive length[2]. The exact character of this lengthening is not easy to ascertain. An important factor, however, must be looked for in a condition which seems to have been intimately connected with this lengthening, namely that the following syllable had a strong secondary stress. If not, we get a short vowel as in A 15 *spĕcially*, which no doubt, as was suggested by Luick, Anglia 30,43, accounts for the irregular short vowel in the corresponding adjective, *specially* being more frequent than *special*. Another example is found in the differentation *nā́ture — nătureel*. — Noteworthy in this respect are also *stătue*, *vălue*[2]. — We have also to mention the numerous words ending in *-rie* (p. 27). From a strictly metrical point of view *-rie* is to be counted as one syllable, which makes it likely that a word like *glorie* was pronounced either *glŏrje* or *glorie*, the latter being perhaps preferable with regard to the later development, if we do not assume a series *glorje* > *glorije* > *glorij* > *glori*. For the NE length, see Part II: *o*.

It is evident that this *-e*, the equivalent of an AF final-*e*, or — as in *marie* (to marry) — the stressless verbal

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[1] These words *may* have had the ME length expected. But in view of their learned character it is tempting to assume a later date for a settled pronunciation of these words, and the ModE vowel here no doubt goes back to a time when the secondary stress on the prefix had already disappeared.

[2] Luick, Anglia 30,44, is of the opinion that here, too, *ī* originally existed in ME, but that the palatal consonant of the following syllable (e. g. *opinioun*) made a diphthongization of the stressed *i* impossible. He takes this case to be parallel with the preservation of monophthongal *ī* before *dž tʃ* (e. g. early NE *oblige*, NE *screech*).

[3] A 975 *stătue*, B 1361 *vălue*. Here a triphthong *iue* arose, which naturally became *iu̯e*, so that the secondary stress on *u* was given up.

ending, had a considerably weaker stress than the endings found in the list of trisyllabic words given above. — The analogy of *marie* prevented length in *mă̆riage* (E 1470).

The history of a word like *nā́ture* is sufficient to prove the diphthongal pronunciation of *u*. Suppose, for a moment, that this letter meant *ü* in ME. What would have been the fate of the *a* of the preceding syllable? Evidently *ă̆*, since *ü* is not a vowel of the kind that favoured lengthening of the preceding vowel (see p. 32). On the other hand, if there was a diphthong *iu*, we have to do with a case analogous to that of *nacioun*.

Examples of words containing *iu* < AF *u*:

fúneral (adj.) A 2912	nā́ture 5, 617, 629, 668, 676
fútur G 875, V 748	rúmour V 53
humílitee E 1184	úsage C 899, LGW 2337, 5,15
músik B 4483	úsure D 1309

A glance at the ModE phonology of these words will tell us that the substitution of *iu* for AF *ü* — in stressed or unstressed syllables — was determined only by one condition: that of unchecked position. Compare, for instance, the *y* of *study* < ME *studi̯e*, where *i̯e* had the same effect as in *carie* (to carry), etc. (p. 32). In other words, before a consonant group — to which type *i̯e* practically belonged — AF *ü* was reproduced by ME *ă̆*; in other cases by ME *iu*.

As to the development of this sound, Luick, Anglia 30,45, writes: 'Im 15. jahrhundert, wenn nicht früher, ist sicher schon vielfach *iu* für das ursprüngliche *ī̆ū̆* gesprochen worden, obwohl daneben *ü* sich noch bis ins neuenglische hielt; der eintritt dieses diphthongs hat nun m. e. die sonst sich vollziehende kürzung verhindert, zunächst allerdings nur bei dem teil der sprachgenossen, der *iu* sprach'.

A double pronunciation was no doubt possible, but it is most unlikely that the monophthong prevailed to such an extent that a real competition began between the two

sounds. In that case it is impossible that the diphthong should have ousted the monophthong in some of the words quoted by Luick (p. 44, l. c.), because these words were chiefly literary or learned and were therefore pronounced almost exclusively by the classes who knew French and who tried to preserve the monophthong. It is clear that *iu* was chosen directly in early ME as the most appropriate substitute for the unfamiliar French *ü*, which sound was familiar only to a very narrow circle of English dialects. To the native population as a whole the adoption of the foreign vowel presented insurmountable difficulties, and it is noteworthy that as a rule such AF sounds as were unfamiliar to the English were replaced by substitutes of one kind or another (p. 26). For additional remarks on *iu*, see Part II: *ŭ*, *iu*.

We may thus safely assume that Ch. had the diphthong in this case. This does not preclude the possibility that in reading Ch.'s *poetry* preference was given to a refined pronunciation in accordance with French. We have already (p. 5) spoken of the same refined tendency in point of stress.

The history of the vowels followed by a *muta cum liquida* + *e* is practically identical with that of vowels in open syllables. Hence it seems necessary to refer this group to the last syllable in cases like

stāble A 167
bīble A 437
nōble A 60
trouble E 465
ēgle (eagle) A 2178
peple (people) C 260
sowple (supple) B 3690
title B 3512
foudre : poudre (lightning; powder) HF 535
ēgre (eager) E 1199
tīgre A 1657

Before a labial (*trouble*, *supple*) *ŭ* was apt to be shortened, but this shortening probably took place after the loss of *-e*, when these words were levelled with words in *-el*, which had invariably short quantity (*chapel*, etc.).

The development of B 2046 *sugre* (sugar), G 1402

lucre — the latter of which, however, may be called a learned word — also shows that *gr*, *cr* belonged to the next syllable, since in closed syllables French *ü* became ME *ŭ*, not *iu* (p. 33).

In *peple*, *egle*, *egre* the length may also be explained as the result of monophthongization (see p. 71), but in any case these words make it evident that the groups in question did not produce shortening of the preceding vowel.

VII. Vocalic Quantity before an OE Lengthening Consonant-group.

This problem is made rather complicated by the fact that among the borrowed words only a limited number of instances existed where we find a parallelism with the native combinations in question. Thus, for instance, a group *vowel /ld* was *a priori* out of the question, since in French *l* had been vocalized before another consonant[1]. Further, the group *nd*, although preceded by a long *ā* and *ū* in French words, cannot be said to have caused length in ME in the same way as in OE, for we also find these vowels influenced in the same way by a following *nt*. Here the length then was not due to the group itself, but to an attempt to reproduce the French nasal vowel.

ME length seems to have existed also in the groups *ū/rs*, *ū/rt* judging by the ModE pronunciation of *course*, *court*[2]. Consequently we may safely assume length in A 140 *court*, E 49 *cours* : *sours* (course; source), although rimes of this type could not find a native group to be judged by,

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[1] LGW 2199 wīlde : *begȳlde* (wild; beguiled) is irrelevant, since in the latter word *ld* was not from French. The vowel was naturally long in the imperfect as well as in the infinitive. — In A 3225 *cokewǭld* : ǭld (cuckold; old) we have evidently to do with an adaptation to the native *-wold*, whose vowel was unstressed and short, but was artificially lengthened to ǭ so as to rime with *ǭld*.

[2] We are here concerned only with the monosyllabic type. Compare *courtesy*. — Only the group *u/n* + *cons.* could take length even in polysyllables (Part II: *ū*).

since the corresponding native group had an originally short vowel, which could not be lengthened. The ME length in the borrowed words containing *u/r + consonant* must be ascribed to a qualitative difference between the AF *u* and its English equivalent. This difference no doubt consisted in the more tense pronunciation of the French *u*, which then came nearer to the quality of the ME long *ū*, and this vowel was therefore chosen as the most appropriate substitute for the foreign sound. It should be noted that even to-day the quality of long and short *u* in French, — as in *court, courte* — is practically identical.

Although therefore the vocalism of the French vowels cannot be said to have been influenced as a whole by a consonant group that had caused length in OE, a collection of the material bearing upon this question may throw light upon the whole problem.

a/nd We are here concerned only with A 1930 *gerland* : *hand.*

It should be pointed out at once that rimes between a French and a native *and* were impossible, since Ch. had always *ǭnd* in native words[1]. It should also be borne in mind that *a/n + any* cons. resulted in a long vowel so that the length in the *and* of French loan-words, as in G 430 *demānde* (question), cannot be said to have been due to the lengthening group *nd.*

The rime in question, to be considered correct, must be read *gerlond* : *hond*, as many MSS have it. Nor was *-lond* an unusual spelling for this word in ME texts, no matter if the form was due to a change of *a* to *o* in unstressed syllable, corresponding to that of *-wald* < *-wold* in OE, or if we have to do with a popular transformation of *-land* to *-lond.*

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[1] Cp. Morsbach, Gr. § 90: 'Daneben öfters der *a*-laut, der besonders in einigen bestimmten Wörtern häufig wiederkehrt: *hand, land, standen, gange(n), hang, lang, wrang,* welche mit den entsprechenden Orrm'schen Kürzen auffallend übereinstimmen'. It is true that the Ell. MS favours *a* in *hand, hange,* but it has *o* in the other words, and the rimes do not give these two words an exceptional place.

e/nd We find a good many rimes here:

IV 891 comprehende : entende : sende, inf.
I 2 descended : ended
E 392 descende : spende (pret. of OE spēndan)
LGW 472 legende : spende, inf., etc.

With regard to *end*, it is first noteworthy that the vernacular had done away with the length in OE *ēnd*[1], as is shown, for instance, by rimes like IV 702 *spende*, inf. < OE spēndan : *brende*, pret. of brennan. It seems, therefore, uncertain whether the short vowel in the French *end* was due merely to sound-substitution or had come into existence independently of the native group. As in some dialects, however, — for example Robert of Gloucester's[2] — the French *end* had given a short vowel, as against the retained length in the native group, it may be safe to assume that native influence had not been at work here. Even if Ch.'s dialect had preserved length in the native *ēnd*, the French loans with *end* were numerous enough to take their own course.

u/nd B 362 confounde : ybounde (to confound; bound)
3, 925 facound : found (eloquent; found)

These instance do not necessarily presuppose a lengthening, since the spelling (ou) — as well as the later development — presupposes length also before *nt*, as in

B 3589 acounte : viscounte (to account; viscount)

a/rd C 201 awarde < AF awarder = OF esgarder < Gic *warda, sb : warde

This is a most remarkable rime. OE *-eard* had given *-erd* in Ch.'s language, so it is doubtful if the last rime-word really is of native origin. Surprising is therefore also the *a* in *hard* (: HF 118 Leonard).

As to *hard*, Wild, 102, ascribes *a* to the possible

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[1] OE *ēond*, however, resulted in ME *ēnd*, as in *feend*, *freend*. This fact seems to justify the conclusion that the length in OE *ēnd* was given up before the monophthongization of *ēo*.

[2] See Eilers, p. 151.

influence of OF *hardi*. Such an influence seems, to say the least, unlikely for that kind of word[1]. — On better grounds we might assume French influence — perhaps French etymology — for *ward*. This word was evidently chiefly used as a legal term, in which case the etymology of the word can appropriately be traced back to AF *ward* = CF *guarde*. On this supposition the above rime is a self-rime, and gives no clue to the quantity of the vowel[2].

o/rd The only native words riming with French words in *ord* were *lord*, *word*, as in

A 837, 3081 etc.	lord : accord		3, 306	word : accord	
D 2049, 2117	~ : record		3, 934	~	: record

These rimes make Eilers, 129, believe that *lord* had *ŏ*, and that *word* — which also rimes with A 4405 *hoord* (hoard) — had 'Doppelformen', i. e. long as well as short vowel. He thus takes it for granted that when *ord* was of French origin, the vowel was *ŏ*, whereas native *ord* had *ō*, except in rimes with French loan-words.

This argument seems somewhat peculiar. If these rimes are correct it is evident that the group *ord* had the same value in native as well as in borrowed words. We find no other way of explaining the fact that *lord* (< OE hlāford) rimes with *word* (< OE wōrd, E 1487, etc.) as well as with *accord* and other loan-words in *-ord*. It is obvious that a levelling had taken place. Most likely this was the result of a general shortening before *rd*[3]. It must not be taken for granted, however, that this short quantity existed in Ch.'s language. The occasional spellings *oord* in the

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[1] Possibly influence may be expected from such native forms as *heardra*, *heardesta*, early ME *hardly*, *hardnen* (< Scand. *harðna*). It should be noted that even Orrm, who was comparatively free from French loan-words, had *harrd*, but *æ* in other words: *ærd*, *flærd*.

[2] A 2185 *leopard* : *part*, sb. in all probability is changed from *leopart*, which seems to have been a rather popular corruption in ME. See NED.

[3] ModE [wəəd] points to ME *ŭ*, due to a change *wo* > *wu*, which cannot be ascertained for Ch.'s dialect. The ModE form must be traced back to another ME dialect. (The same is true of *sword*, for which Ch. has *swerd* (: berd B 4547). See also Gabrielson, Influence of *W*, 220, 221.

MSS shows that a lengthening had taken place, at least in the dialects of the scribes concerned, and even for the poet himself the possibility of a secondary lengthening in this group cannot be dismissed.

u/rd The only rime is H 82 bourde : gourde (jest; gourd) This rime tells us nothing about the general tendency of *u/rd*. The spelling *ou*, which was simply transmitted from OF, at best shows that the vowel was pronounced *ū* by spelling-pronunciation. The words were both too uncommon to be considered typical representatives of *u/rd*. The ModE pronunciation of *gourd* wavers, according to NED, between [gūəɹd] and [gōəɹd]. To all appearance *ū* prevailed in these words in Ch. — Cp., however, *u/rt* (p. 35).

er/l Eilers considers *rl* a lengthening cons. group. That seems, however, questionable. If we look at his instances from Orrm, for example, we find short vowel everywhere, except in *eorless*, *cherl*, where the OE diphthong may have resulted in a long vowel, *ō* or *ē*, perhaps *ē* after a palatal *č*. Cp. Bülbring, Bonner Beitr. 15, 138. — Cp. also *ēnd* < *ēōnd*, p. 37 Note 1.

In any case, we find no rimes in Ch. bearing on this question. Ell. sometimes spells B 3658 *peerle* (pearl), but it is impossible to decide whether this form belonged to the poet or not, and even if it did, the *ee* may be the result of a reaction against forms like *perele(s)* (not in Ell.), which no doubt represent a syllabification of *l* in the scribe's dialect. In case of length, the vowel must have been *ę̄* [1]. The ModE pronunciation is no criterion in this case. Cp. *serve — starve*, in Ch. A 1143 *stĕrve* : *sĕrve*, or *discerne*, *berne* (barn), both with *ĕ* in Ch. In *serve*, *discerne* the influence of spelling saved these words from the late ME change *er* > *ar*.

e/rn
HF 910 discerne : yerne, adv.
IV 198 ~ : yerne < *ʒērnan* (WS -ie-)
III 373 governe : eterne : yerne, adv.
D 333 laterne : werne < *wērnan* (WS -ie-)

[1] Wild, 209, assumes *ę̄*.

This case is parallel to that of *o/rd*. Had length prevailed, we should have got *ērn*[1] in native, *ę̄rn* in French words. The short vowel in the native group is proved by rimes like F 256 *fern* < fēārn : *fern* < Kent. fern = WS fyrn (formerly), C 397 *berne* (barn) : *yerne*, adv. The later development of *bern* (barn) shows that a secondary lengthening is out of the question for Ch.

o/rn A 3388 scorn : horn, A 4110 ~ : born, C 624 ~ : therbiforn.

Scorn[2] is derived from escorner < *excornāre (< cornu). The rime with *born*, a syncopated form of OE *boren*, is conclusive enough for short vowel. Cp. *e/rn*, *o/rd*.

u/rn D 988 sojourne : tourne
III 1483, V 596 : retourne
V 1350 ~ : retorne
I 848 sojorne : torne
I 324 torne : sojorne : borne (to burnish)

There is a wavering between *ou* and *o*. This is apparently due to the fact that in *(re)torne*, which forms part of all the rimes mentioned, the spelling of the native *tŭrne*[3] < OE *turnian* was normalized, and, in some cases, gave rise to *o* for *ou* even in the rime-word, as in I 324, etc.

The native *tŭrne* had short vowel as is seen from II 797 *sporneth* : *torneth* (spurns; turns). In the rimes with *sojourne*, however, Ch. undoubtedly borrowed the French *tourner* to suit the rime. Then it was pronounced *ū/rn*, and for the same reason as in *ū/rd*, *ū/rt*. As we find from the ModE pronunciation, the native *tŭrne* was, however, the popular and victorious form. The French form was used, it seems, only for the purpose of riming. The triple rime I 324 *torneth* : *sojorneth* : *borneth* < OF burn(ir) combines the double possibilities of *tŭrne*, which has *ū* when combined with *sojorneth*, but *ŭ* when riming with *borneth*[4].

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[1] Orrm had still *ēr/n*, as he had *ō/rd*.

[2] This word is etymologically unconnected with ME *scarn* Orrm's *skarn*, which belongs to OF *escharnir* < *eschernir* < OHG *skërnōn* (to mock). See Körting.

[3] Orrm has *turrnenn*.

[4] This is not the only triple rime of that type. See p. 60 Note 1.

The last word has OF *ü*. We have already seen that OF *ü* became in ME either *iu-* in an open syllable, or *ŭ* in a checked syllable[1]. The spelling *o*, in fact, cannot mean anything else than *ŭ* for *borneth*, and *ŭ* is also required by the rime with *torneth*, *ū* is impossible[2].

In the following rimes we have to deal with loans from the Latin, and the vowel is pronounced as in native *u/rn*, i. e. *ŭ*.

V 309 turne : urne (urn)
A 1327, 2454 ~ : saturne

It should be noted that even if these words had gone through French, and there had the vowel *ü*, the result would have been the same in ME owing to the checked position. French origin for *urne* is unlikely, however, since the first instance given by Hatzf.-D. is from 1539.

e/rs A 3174 werse : reherce (worse; to rehearse)
IV 1194 werse : adverse : diverse

These rimes with *werse* show that no lengthening had taken place before *rs*. — As to A 1598 *fiers* (*ē*), see p. 77.

o/rs B 285 fors (force, importance)

No lengthening can be ascertained here.

u/rs See p. 35.

To sum up, we find no case where length may be ascribed to the old tendency of lengthening before the said groups. Possibly a secondary lengthening had taken place in *o/rd*. For *ū/nd*, *ū/rd* we have to compare the length in *ū/nt*, *ū/rt* of French loans.

VIII. Vocalic Quantity before *dʒ*, *tʃ*.

This question is of particular interest in view of the seemingly arbitrary differentiation in ModEnglish between the various vowels in this position. We are struck with the inconsistency in the pronunciation of words like: *wage* — *attach*, *allege*, *siege* — *abridge*, *lodge* — *approach*, *grudge* — *couch*.

[1] For a full discussion of this question, see p. 33.

[2] In Ell. the word is spelt *burned* (B 4054, C 38, F 1247), but *ŭ* is meant, anyway.

It has been pointed out that the normal development of the monosyllabic type, with unchecked vowel, had given a long vowel in Ch. We should, therefore, expect to find length in all these instances in Ch.'s language. That we do not is due to another factor, whose importance has already been emphasized, namely the adaptation, as far as possible, of the foreign to the native sound-groups. In fact, we *do* find length in all cases where no short vowel in the corresponding native group counter-acted the tendency towards length. From OE were developed the groups *ăt∫*, *ĕdʒ*, *ĭdʒ*, *ĭt∫*[1], all with short vowels, and these groups seem to have impeded the lengthening of the vowel in the same groups of the French vocabulary. For *u* the lengthening is carried through regularly, in spite of the native *ŭt∫*[2], owing again to the close character of the French *u* (p. 36).

a/dʒ The combination *āge* is very common. The frequent suffix *-age* < *-āticum* is used in rimes in the same way as if it were full-stressed, i. e. with a long vowel. In natural speech we have to assume *ă*, as in F 772, G 731 *avántage*, etc.

A 2591 age : avantage
A 2012 rage : outrage
A 3029 ~ : page (boy),
A 3223 ~ : cage
F 835 ~ : aswage (to assuage), etc.

The regular length is to be assumed in all instances. In ModE *outrage* we find find [*idʒ*] for the noun, [*eⁱdʒ*] for the verb. Cp. the suffix *-ate* = [*it*] and [*eⁱt*].

a/t∫ No rimes. Elsewhere we find, for example[3],

G 11 cacche (to catch) 21, 18 tache (defect)

For reasons mentioned above the vowel was here short, as is suggested by the Ell. spelling as well as by the later development[4].

[1] As in *lacche* < *læccan*, *egge* < *ecg*, *brigge* < *brycg*, *riche* < *rice*.

[2] Whose only source was OE *yčč*, as in ME, NE *crutch* < OE *crycc*. This group was reinforced by a few loans with OF *ü*, which appears as ME *ŭ* before *t∫* (p. 46).

[3] 13, 22 *vache* is by Skeat explained as belonging to OF *vache* (cow). It is rather a proper name, as has been made probable by Edith Rickert, Mod. Phil., Oct., 1913.

[4] Remarkable is the ModEngl. pronunciation of the letter *h* (OF ache).

e/dʒ A 3000, E 1658, III 295 abregge[1] : allegge (to abridge; to allege) IV 925 abregge[1] : egge (edge)
A 3989 Cantebregge : collegge (Cambridge; college)

The last rime only gives an example of a metrical change of stress, the natural stress resting no doubt on the first syllable of *cóllegge*. Generally a shifting of that kind usually resulted in a lengthening of the vowel in open position (p. 4). That no length arose here is due to the simple fact that the vernacular had no group *ędʒ*. Thus we find the law of adaptation working here too.

An exception seems to be found in

A 56 sę̄ge (seat), V 1496 bisę̄ge (to besiege),

but these words belong to a different type. Both words are of the same origin, containing an OF *ie* (< *ę*), which in AF became *ę*. This vowel invariably gave ME *ę̄*. The case is different with *abregge*, *allegge*, B 2477 *aggregge* (to aggravate), I 979 *engregge* (to burden), etc., where no monophthongization of *ie* has taken place, these verbs being derived from the end-stressed forms of the French verbs. — For *lę̄ge* (liege) Ch. evidently had *lige*, the normal form in Ell. (See *i/dʒ*).

e/tʃ HF 1778, III 935 tecches (defects)

It is doubtful if this form or if *tacche* (above) was Chaucer's own. The spelling points to short vowel, at least for the scribes. It is hard to understand why length did not enter here. The vernacular had *ę̄tʃ* as well as *ĕtʃ*, so that no pressure from the native types disturbed the natural development. Of course, a word of such rare occurrence cannot be taken as a typical example. It was rather felt as a foreign word, and pronounced in the French way. Another possibility is influence from the related *tache*, with short vowel.

In any case, *tʃ* did not prevent the lengthening of a

[1] The later change *e* > *i* is identical with the development mentioned by Morsbach, Gr. § 109. It should be noted, however, that even OF had a form *abrigier*.

preceding *e*, as may be proved by the vowel in D 767, 1310, E 2257, etc. *léchour* (lecher), if we accept Luick's[1] interpretation of NE spellings with *ea* in this word as a sign of length. Cp. p. 28, on length before a velar ending.

When a vowel was the result of monophthongization, length was normal. So in A 482 *prēche* < preechier (to preach): *tēche* (to teach).

i/dʒ C 337, E 310, etc. lige < lige, liege < Gic *lędigu

The regular OF vowel was *i*, which, however, interchanged with *ie*, corresponding to ME *ē*.

We should have expected to find *ĭ* here, as the vernacular had *ĭ/dʒ*, but no *ī/dʒ*. The long vowel seems, however, undeniable, since a short *ĭ* would have been indicated by *gg*. The lengt in *lige* may have been analogical from that of *lēge*. The material is, however, too scanty to allow of infallible conclusions. It should be borne in mind too that the ModE [ī] does not necessitate *ē* in the ME word, since it is doubtful whether a diphthongization of *ī/dʒ* could take place at all[2].

i/tʃ The only rime containing OF *i/tʃ* is

D 346 riche : rubriche (rubric) < rubriche < rubrīca (NED rubrish)[3].

I have not been able to ascertain the accentuation for the latter word, but if the stress lay on *ú* the *i*-vowel was necessarily short. In any case, however, short quantity was to be expected on account of the exclusiveness of the native *ĭtʃ*, which also made an artificial lengthening impossible. — In *riche* French and English may have coöperated.

Short was the *i* naturally also in

A 349, HF 1392 *partrich*[3] (partridge) = OF pardriz (and perdiz) < perdīcem.

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[1] Anglia 30, 18.

[2] The [ai] of ModE *oblige* is a spelling-pronunciation of comparatively recent date.

[3] As no phonetical development could make *tʃ* > š, *rubrish* must owe its *-ish* to a change of suffixes.

o/dʒ B 4044 logge : orlogge[1] (lodge; clock)
B 4181 ylogged, vb.

It seems curious that *o* should have become short before *dʒ*, although a group *ŏ/dʒ* did not exist in the vernacular. This fact is the more remarkable if we consider that *a/dʒ*, and even *o/tʃ*, resulted in long vowels. It does not seem unlikely that in OF the end-stressed forms of *logier* had a geminated *dʒ* (< *dʒ* + *i̯*), which gave rise to a ME short vowel. Cp. *Iugge* (below).

o/tʃ D 177 approche, vb : abroche (to broach)
F 555 ~ : galoche HF 1116 ~ : roche (rock)

Outside the rimes we find
HF 1740 broche (brooch) B 2447 hoche-pot (hotch-potch).

We have every reason to assume a long vowel, except in *hoche-pot*, which may be considered as a single word of the trisyllabic type, i. e. with full stress only on the first syllable, whose vowel consequently was short. Even if the word was pronounced with level stress, *ŏ* is not unlikely to have entered analogically from *pot*.

The group *o/tʃ* did not exist in the vernacular at all, so the development of length is regular[2].

Ch.'s form of *galoche* did not survive, but was replaced in NE by a fresh introduction of the word, giving ModE *galosh*.

u/dʒ The only instance I have found is
HF 2129 bowges (bags, budgets)

Nothing can be concluded from this single word. The spelling points to *ū*, which is also what one might expect. A diphthongization of *ū/dʒ* could hardly be expected, even if the word had survived.

u/tʃ A 3931 touche : pouche (to touch; pouch)
D 88 ~ : couche („ ; couch)
A 3479 crouche (to mark with a cross)
D 743 ouche (n/ouch) HF 1350 nouches (n/ouch).

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[1] The natural stress was on the initial syllable, as appears from 5, 350.

[2] Short vowel seems to have occurred in the ME equivalent of ModE *botch*, in Ch. *boch*, Boeth. 3 P IV, 9, < ONF boche = CentF boce (A 3266 bos, 'boss'). This word did not appear before the end of the 14th c.

The spelling points to long vowel in all these words, and the ModE pronunciation represents the regular development of length, with the exception of *touch*, which must have suffered shortening in late ME, and *crouch*, which fell into disuse.

It is remarkable that although there existed in ME a group *ŭtʃ* (< OE *yčč*[1]) which might have served as a substitute for the corresponding French combination, the loan-words of this type received a long vowel on ME soil. As in the case of *u/r* + *consonant*, we have to explain this fact as due to the difference between the English and the French *u*, the latter of which had a quality resembling that of ME *ū* rather than *ŭ*.

As to A 3479 *crouche*, it is true that we find this word as early as late OE, but for phonetical reasons it must be placed among the French loan-words. OE *crūc* could not have its final consonant palatalized to *tʃ*. In all probability, we have to do here with an AF loan.

A 3863 *grucche* (to grudge) cannot very well be derived from AF *groucher*, as is generally assumed in the dictionaries. In that case the result would have been ME *ū* as in the words given above. That the original vowel was *ü* is rendered likely by the occasional spelling *gricche* in ME. This *u* in *grucche* cannot originate in an OE *u*, which is irreconcilable with the following *tʃ*. On the other hand, the word might have contained an OE *y*, which in an great number of words became *u* before *tʃ*. The most probable source, however, is AF *gruchier* (Moisy). The short ME vowel need not be ascribed to an OF gemination, since the group *üch* was replaced spontaneously by ME *ŭtʃ*. Cp. *duchess*.

ü/dʒ	A 1720	Iuge : refuge	(judge; refuge)	
	I 839	diluge (deluge)	A 2951	huge
	C 738	Iugged	II 21	Iuggen (to judge)

The regular equivalent of AF *ü* in unchecked position was ME *iu*, and even here this development held good. Consequently A 1720 is a correct rime. The ModE pro-

[1] As in *crycc* (crutch), *clycc(e)an* (to clutch).

nunciation, however, points to ME *ŭ*, and so does the spelling *Iugged*, where *gg* gives us the right to assume short vowel. It seems, indeed, as though in ME the noun and the verb had different vocalic quantities, of which the later development generalized that of the verb. That the ME verb had a short vowel is ascribed by Wild, 218, to the victory of end-stressed forms of the French verb. This is true only if we assume that in French *dz* had become long through the absorption of *i* in *jugier*, since a French short vowel + short consonant as a rule resulted in ME long vowel + short consonant.

In conclusion it may be ascertained that, whenever the vernacular did not possess the exact equivalent of the foreign *vowel/dz, tf,* the ME vowel became *long.*

IX. Spelling-pronunciation in Chaucer.

Before the great vowel-shift English spelling-pronunciation can hardly have been of any great importance. The influence exercised upon the English language by the revival of the study of Latin cannot alone account for the vocalic differentiation in words which might be expected to have had a parallel development. Of course spelling-pron. presupposes a wide-spread knowledge of reading and writing, but it is natural, too, that as long as the difference between *ē* and *ĕ*, *ī* and *ĭ*, *ū* and *ŭ*[1], was only one of quantity, the spelling was as distinctly expressed by either of the two, that is, the alphabetical value of the vowel — which naturally was expressed by long quantity — was not a necessary expedient for emphasizing the spelling.

It can thus be taken for granted that the change of *ē* > *ī*, *ī* > *ai*, *ū* > *au* which gave new values to the letters *e*, *i*, *u*, was responsible for the occassional use of the diphthong, where a short vowel might be expected. It is therefore not admissible to assume that every polysyllabic

[1] In the case of *ā*—*ă*, *ō*—*ŏ*, spelling-pron. may have been of a still more recent date, as the differentiation in early NE was not as yet so conspicuous here as in the other vowels.

word with a ModE diphthong necessarily had a ME long vowel. ModE *license*, for instance, does not prove a ME *ī* for this word, since — apart from the position in hiatus (p. 31) — *i-* was not lengthened in Ch.'s language. The ModE vacillation between [ī] and [e] in *legend* evidently did not originate in ME, where we can assume only *lĕgend* (p. 27).

In one case, however, spelling-pron. may have existed even in Ch. — to what extent cannot be ascertained — namely when *ŭ* was written *o*, that is before or after *m*, *n*, *v*, and occasionally *r*, *s*. Thus it is impossible to determine in every single case if *con-* was pronounced *kŭn* or *kŏn*, the latter being the result of spelling-pron., whereas *kŭn* was the regular continuation of the AF prefix. Of course we do not know if Ch. knew two vowels in, for example, *conduit* (ModE [ɔ] and [ʊ]). The spelling-pron. *may* be of a later date. For other examples of this use of spelling-pron., see Koeppel, 54 ff. See also under *ŭ* Part II.

The traditional spelling and association with native *out* probably gave rise to a ME spelling-pron. of *outrage*.

As to *enhance* (= CF enhaucer) with *n* for *u*, this corruption had taken place in AF (Koeppel, 2).

Another kind of spelling-pron. — that of the rime-vowel of a polysyllable — has been briefly touched upon above (p. 4). Rimes like B 935 *desolat* : *maat* (dejected), C 685 *tauerner* : *yeer*, B 363 *malice* : *vyce*, G 808 *vitriole* : *cole* (coal), D 1937 *auditours* : *sours* (source) show that a polysyllable with a regularly unstressed final syllable could have the vowel lengthened if it happened to become sufficiently stressed, as was the case in rimes. There the respective vowels got their alphabetical value, that is *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*.

I have assumed close quality for the ME letter *e*. If the OE *ē*, *ō* had come to represent the alphabetical pronunciation of these letters in ME, we might expect *a priori* the close quality for both. Now, the pronunciation of the letters as a whole points to French influence (*g*, *h*, *j*, etc.), so we may safely assert that the alphabetical values of the vowels should be traced back to the ME school-

pronunciation as it was normalized by French teachers or at least by French models. This origin agrees well with the vocalic values given above.

A letter evidently had the value which it generally represented at the end of a monosyllable, as in *he, we, go, to,* etc.[1] Now in French words (*beautee*, etc.) ę was always close in final position. Loan-words with final *o* did not exist in ME, but the majority of French loans with *o* had the open vowel, so ǭ was likely to be generalized as the value of the letter *o*. In native words we find also words with final ǭ̣ (*do, to*, etc.), but on the whole ǭ was more common than ǭ̣ also in native words. — Rimes containing proper names are little conclusive on account of the poet's inconsistent use of *do, to,* in rimes (Part II, ǭ). Cp., for instance, I 72 *Appollo* : *fordo* : *go*; II 8 *Cleo* : *do*; G 1448 *Plato* : *to*; G 1460 *Plato* : *tho* (then).

For the letter *u* I have assumed the diphthong even for Ch.'s time. In Ell., whose spelling has been considered the most accurate copy of the poet's own works, the long *ū*-vowel is already quite consistently represented by *ou*. It seems therefore unquestionable that the letter *u* had the pronunciation it generally represented in open syllables — stressed or unstressed — of the French loans (cp. p. 33). A ME *īu* would, moreover, have given a NE diphthong *oi*.

The value of the letter *y* is irrelevant for our purposes, as in Ch.'s dialect it was equivalent to *i*. It is not unlikely, however, that the school-pronunciation of *y* was also originally *iu*, which then on account of the actual value of *y* — i. e. *i* — became *iui*, and, by way of dissimilation, *ui* > ModE *wai*.

[1] The following rime from Richard Rolle of Hampole may be adduced simply as a curiosity.

> And if the child a woman be
> when it is born it says *e, e,*
> *e* is the first letter and the hede
> of the name of Eve that began our dede.

(Morris and Skeat, Specimens of Early English, II 108).

PART II

STRESSED VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

Vowels.

a.

Spelling.

As a rule *a* is used in the Ell. MS to express long as well as short vowel. In closed syllables *aa* occasionally stands for *ā*, before a nasal + consonant also *au*.

ā.

I. In open syllable.

(α) Monosyllabic type[1]. — Sources:

1) *a* in originally unchecked position.

This group consists chiefly of learned loan-words from Latin, the normal development of Latin *a* giving OF *ę*, ME *ę̄*.

The rest of the group have their *ā* derived from an OF *a* in pretonic position, where the old *a* was preserved. These words were all verbs, and it is here immaterial whether the ME form was a direct adaptation of the end-stressed OF forms, or if a generalization of these forms had taken place already in OF. In many instances the influence of the Latin form no doubt paved the way for the *a*-forms in OF. The native rime-words all contain OE *a*-, *æ*-[2].

Examples[3].

B 498 cāve < cave < cava (< cavus)

: knāve

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[1] So I designate here, too, not only the monosyllables proper, but also those with an *-e* added, since the vocalism had the same development in both. The same point of view is chosen with regard to the terms dissyllabic and trisyllabic.

[2] *a*-, *e*-, etc. means *a*, *e*, etc. in open syllables.

[3] To indicate the sources of the Romanic words, I simply give first the form that in AF must have been the direct source, and then the Latin word. Only when the Central French dialect had another

3, 261 cāve : hāve[1] vb.
G 1410 dāte < date < data (< dare)
: lāte, adv.
B 1719 declāre < declarer (CF also declerer) < dēclārāre
: bāre, adj.
B 571 ~ : snāre, sb.
A 3055 fāme < fame < fāma
: nāme, sb.

2) *a* in originally checked position.

A large number of these words contain an *a* followed by earlier, *bi̯*, *ki̯*, *vi̯*, and, in the case of a separating consonant that later was dropped, also *ti̯*[2].

Here I place also the frequent type of an unchecked *a* due to the simplification of a Latin double consonant or to the loss of the first of two consecutive consonants, no matter if that group came down from Latin or was due to syncopation.

These two sections are practically parallel, since both are instances of the elimination, or assimilation, of a consonant. The result was in both cases an unchecked *a* in OF, *ā* in ME.

Examples:
A 3224 āge < e(d)age < *ætāticum < ætas, ātis + āticum
: cāge < cage < cavea
E 1103 arāce < aracer = CF aracher, < exrādīcāre
: fāce < face < *facia (facies)
B 861 blāme < bla(s)mer < blasphēmāre (< Greek)
: nāme, sb.
E 395 chāce < CF chacer < *captiāre (< captus)
: grāce < grace[3] < grātia

---

form and when the word was not of Latin origin, will this be particularly mentioned. — The quantity of the vowels will be denoted only in case of length. — Rimes where the length in one or both words was only due to metrical stress, will be designated by *.

[1] When used as an auxiliary, this verb had probably *ă* by this time, later on generalized, whence the ModE short vowel.

[2] *a/ti̯ > ais*. But cp. *captiāre < chacer* (ME *chāce*).

[3] Learned word, since *a/ti̯* should give *ai*.

B 1889 embrāce < CF embracer < in + *brāc(h)iāre (< brā-c(h)ium)
: plāce < place < *plattia = platea[1]

16, 10 escāpe < escaper = CF eschap(p)er < *ex-cappāre (< cappa)
: shāpe (pa. p.) < OE sceapen (to scieppan)

3, 564 fāde < fader, to fade < *fatidus (for fatuus)
: glāde (to gladden)

B 205 pāce, vb. < passer < *passāre (< passus)
: spāce < espace < spatium

A 3972 pāge < page < Gr. παϑικός, rather than παιδίον (Kört.)
: āge, sb.

A 3119 pāle < pale < pallidus (For the OF form, see Schw. § 76 A.)
: tāle. sb.

V 801 squāre, adj. pl. < esquar(r)e, adj. and sb., < ex + quadrum
: declāre

3) *au/v*

C 200 sāve < sauver < salvāre
: hāve (to have)

A 2713 sāve (sage) = OE salfie, assimilated to the verb *save* (NED)
: hāve

Here the last element of the diphthong had been absorbed by the homorganic following *v*. We might expect to find the same development also for the adj. *safe*, which, however, in Ell. appears as B 343, 2373 *sauf(ly)*. There is hardly any reason to believe that the diphthong would have been better preserved before a voiceless than before a voiced consonant, or that it would have been saved by the *f* belonging to the same syllable. In *sauf au* was no doubt simply a traditional spelling, which later on was replaced by the present *a*. As for *au* denoting *ā*, compare the common spelling *aun/cons*.

[1] Which would have given *ai*. Ch. has regularly the final *-e*. Only in Sir Thopas, where many deliberate blunders are made, do we find *plas*: B 1971 was : gras : plas : solas, sb.

4) *able* (*acle*)

A 167 āble < able < habilis
: stāble < estable < stabulum

A 3571 gāble < gable < Scand. gafl
: stāble, sb.

4, 282 sāble : stāble, sb. < sable < Med. L sabellum (< Russ.)

C 515* tāble < table < tabula
: mesurāble[1]

In a similar way we expect metrical length in

A 1787* myrācles < miracle < mīrāculum
: obstācles < obstacle < obstāculum

C 314* triācle (treacle) < triacle < thēriaca (< Gr.)
: cardynācle, for cardiacle < cardiaque < cardiaca (< Gr.)

The ModE vowel in *treacle* is due, according to Koeppel, 67, to a sound-substitution, *ea* being more common than *ia*.

The long vowel before this combination of *muta cum liquida* must be ascribed to a lengthening of the same kind as that of *a-*, that is, a consonant group which could be placed in initial position was referred undivided to the following syllable. Thus *tă-ble* gave a long vowel in the same way as *fă-me*.

Special cases.

It is interesting to observe that Ch., who still kept apart *smăl — smāle*[2], applied the same differentiation also to French words in *-ăl*, which inflected appears as *-āle(s)*. Since this suffix could not receive full stress, the lengthening was confined to the position in rime, where it had an artificial stress. As a rule the plural ending was *-s* (not *-es*) for polysyllabic words. It is noteworthy, however, that these endings rimed with native *-āle*, not with *-ălle*, showing that the tendency of lengthening was still operating. — Examples:

[1] In natural speech the suffix *-able* must have had *ă*.

[2] A 3233 *smăl* : *ăl* (small, all), A 330 *smāle* : *tāle*, sb.

C 342* *cardināles*, sb. : tāles, sb.
B 2038* ~ : *roiāles*, adj. (French pl.) : tāles
mynstrāles (minstrels) < ministral < Late L ministeriālis
: tāles, sb.

Here we might put
A 381 *galyngāle*[1] < galingal (< Arab.)
: āle, sb.,
where ME added an inorganic *-e*.

Of the same kind are
C 306* *Galiānes*[2] (a medicine)
: *Iurdānes*[2] 'urinal' (NED jordan)
B 4149* *terciāne* < tertiane < tertiāna (febris)
: bāne (death) < OE bana

G 934 *crāsed* (broken) : amāsed (< OE amasod)

This is probably a Scand. word, as French *écraser* did not appear before the 16th c. (See M.-L., Et. Wb., *krasa*). It would also be surprising to come across *only* aphetic forms of this word in ME. Cp. NED and Björkm., 247.

A 3260 *dāme* (dam) < dame < domina
: gāme, sb.
A 3956 *dāme* (madam) : sāme

The *a* < *o* was here due to proclitic use. Cp. *dan* < *dominus*. For *madame*, see p. 67.

B 4002 *Iāde* (jade) : glāde (to gladden)

Skeat considers this word a Scand. loan. The initial *dʒ* makes such an etymology untenable and rather points to French origin. It seems very reasonable to assume connection with Walloon *gade* (goat), the *g* being due to the differentiation prevailing in the OF dialects with regard to the development of *g, k/a*, which, according to Schw. § 139 A, in Picardy and Nothern Normandy did not change into *dz, tʃ*.

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[1] 'Galingale, the aromatic root of an East Indian plant' (NED). — Of course such a word may have had a spelling-pron. — with *ā* — even in ME.

[2] These words, both of obscure origin (see Skeat, Notes), are written *-ones* in Ell., as against the majority of *-anes* in other MSS.

A 4201 *Iāpe* (jape, trick) : āpe, sb.
III 410 ~ : *frāpe* (company) < frape, to French frapper?

Here, too, we *might* have to do with the same kind of differentiation as in the case of *Iade*. In that case *Iape* would be referred to OF *gaber* (to mock), which has a sense suiting that of the ME word. But there is no greater difficulty in associating the word with OF *japer* (to yelp) a word of imitative nature that could easily have assumed the meaning given above to the ME loan-word.

(β) Dissyllabic type.

Source: Pretonic *a* in the open syllable of a certain group of words (p. 28). — Examples:
B 4035 bā́coun < bacon < Gic *bacco (back)
C 856 cā́poun[1] < capun < cāpo, -ōnis
HF 1233 fā́mous < *famous (F fameux) < fāmōsus
1, 106 lā́bour < labour < labor, -ōris
D 287 lā́vours (lavers) < lavour < *lavātōrum[2]
HF 690 rā́sour (razor) < rasour < rāsor, -ōris
G 887 sā́vour < savour < sapor, -ōris
F 393 vā́pour < vapour < vapor, -ōris

(γ) Trisyllabic type. — Sources:

1) Pretonic *a* in the open syllable of a certain group of words (p. 32). — Examples:
A 138 āmiable < amiable < amīcābilis
A 53 nā́ciouns (nations) < nation < nātio, -ōnis
5, 617 nā́ture < nature < nātūra
19, 16 sā́veour (saver; saviour) < sauveour < salvātor, -ōris
G 1175 vā́riaunt < variant < varians, -ntis

2) Pretonic *a* in hiatus (p. 31).
B 489 Ebrā́ic (Hebraic) < hebraique (< Gr. Ἑβραϊκός)

II. In closed syllable.

1) Before final consonant.

This group consists partly of *learned* French loans from Latin — the natural result of a Latin unchecked *a*

[1] The single instance in Aelfric (NED) cannot justify the assumption of OE origin for this word.

[2] Cp. *lavātōrium* > OF *laveoir*.

being ę in OF (Schw. § 52 a) — partly of such words as had an originally checked *a*.

B 3851 Aas (ace) < as < ās, -sis
: cās < cas < cāsus
: wăs
: allās < ha las < lassus

A 2358 caas[1] (case) < casse (CF chasse) < capsa
cās (case) < cāsus

B 935* desolāt < desolat (CF desolé) < dēsolātus
: maat (dejected) < mat (< Persian-Arab. māt)
: renegat < renegat < *renegātus (< re + nego)

A 2389 lās (lace) < laz < laqueus
: allās

C 163 pās (pace) < pas < passus
: cās (case)

A 571 stāt (state) < estat < status
: achāt (purchase) < achat, to achater < *accaptare (< captus)

According to the principles set forth above, p. 26, length is undisputable only in the stressed syllable of words of the monosyllabic type. Hence words like *desolat* received full length in the final syllable only when used as rime-words. In that position the syllable *-lat* was stressed and was subject to the same lengthening as the vowel of a monosyllabic word.

This phenomenon is interesting because it gives an explanation of the dubious quantity of the vowel in the native *was*, which I have given above as *wăs*. The vowel of this word was originally short, as is evident from a rime like A 152 *was* : *glăs* (glass). But it should be noted that this word was normally unstressed and consequently parallel with the final syllable of *desolat*, for instance. Thus an

[1] The only rime containing this word in Ch., except the one given above, is LGW 982 *cas* : *Eneas*, where the proper name had its vowel artificially lengthened to suit the rime. Cp. *wăs*. — It is remarkable that the *-e* had disappeared in the ME form of this word, but it should be considered that in AN *-e* began to drop towards the end of the 12th c. (Schw. § 256 A).

artificial lengthening could easily take place, since the unstressed *was* contained a short vowel + a short consonant, a combination which in the case of an artificial stressing invariably favoured the length of the vowel, not of the consonant. But it is not necessary that this lengthening should be confined to the position in rime. The modern language presents a similar process for this word. In emphatical speech *was* is now pronounced, not [*wɔz̄*], but [*wɔ̄z*]. It seems not absurd to assume that in the normal pronunciation at Ch.'s time both *wăs* and *wās* were possible, according to its occurrence in unstressed or stressed position. — Cp. the double quality of *wĕl* (p. 83).

A word should be said also about *allās*. It rimes regularly with *ās* in French words and quite often with *was*. One rime, however, calls for a special attention: B 191 *wăs* : *allās* : *glăs*. It would seem that *ă* should be the only possibility there. But we occasionally find that when Ch. made a rime of more than two rime-words he could content himself with an exact rime for every two of the group. Here *wăs* rimed very well with *allās*, as well as with *glăs*, though these two did not rime between them[1].

The ModE [ā] in *alas* may be looked upon as the ME vowel unchanged, which is not surprising considering its character of interjection.

1) *āst*

A 2051 chāste < OF chaste < castus
: hāste < F haster < Gic *haist- (OE hǣst)

5, 283 ~ : wāste < waster = CF g(u)aster < Gic *wast- (+ vastāre?)

As to the disappearence of *s* before consonant in OF we would refer to the following statement by Bourciez[2]:

'Au Nord, le *s* s'est effacé dès la fin du XI[e] siècle devant certain consonnes, dans des mots comme *blasmer*,

[1] There are several instances of such rimes: I 324 *torneth* : *sojorneth* : *borneth* (p. 40), B 1968 *was* : *gras* : *plās* : *solās*, of which the latter, however, is somewhat suspect, as it belongs to Sir Thopas, where rime and metre are often deliberately neglected.

[2] Éléments de linguistique rom., 333.

isle, etc. Cent ans plus tard, il ne se faisait plus entendre (sauf an Nord-Est en pays wallon) devant les consonnes sourdes'.

These dates not only give us a *terminus a quo* as well as *ad quem* for the French loans in general — cp. ME *blāme* and *hāste* — but also make it probable that the tendency to disappear before voiceless consonants was already active by the time the majority of loan-words came over. In that case we have to assume as parallel with the disappearance of *s* a gradual lengthening of the preceding vowel in OF. This assumption seems to be corroborated by a description of the weakening of this *s* given in Orthographia Gallica (13th c.): 'Quant *s* est joynt [a la *t*] ele avera le soun de *h*, come *est*, *plest* seront *eght*, *pleght*'. The development of an *h*-like sound after the vowel must practically have resulted in a long preceding vowel. Thus it came about that the group *-ast* in French loan-words did not give up its long vowel in spite of the rather common native *ăst*[1].

3) *a/n + single cons.* (except *k*[2], which changed *n* to *ŋ*).

A 246* avānce < avancier < *abanteāre (< ab + ante)
: aqueyntānce[3] < aqueintance, to queint = CF coint < cognitus

5, 612 braunche < CF branche < branca
: paunche < panche (< F panse) < pantex, icis

G 592* chānce < CF cheance < *cadentia (< cado)
: daliānce[3] < *dalliaunce, to dallier (to chat) (< Gic?)

H 223* errānt < errant < errans, -antis
: tyrānt < tyran(t) < tyrannus

D 1013 grānte < graanter < creanter < *crēdentāre (< crēdo)
: auānte (to boast) < avanter < ad + *vānitāre (< vānor)

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[1] Irregular is A 3728 *hāste*, sb.: *făste*, adv.

[2] As in B 1391 *frankes* (the coin) < franc < Gic *Frank- (OHG Franko = a Frank)
: flankes < flanc < Gic? *hlanka (OHG hlanka = loin)
: thankes (thanks)

[3] The suffixes *-ance*, *-ant* were artificially lengthened in rime.

HF 698 graunges < grange < *grānea (< grānum)
: eschaunges < CF eschange, to eschanger < ex + cambiāre (Georges, Handwb.)
A 1696 launde (lawn) < lande < celtic *landa (Irish laun)
: comaunde < comander < *commandāre (< con + mando)

With regard to the phonetical history of this *ā/n* + cons. it should be observed that in AF the nasal *ān* had lost its nasalization by the end of the 13th c.[1], or perhaps even earlier, as we find the spelling *au* in AF texts as early as the beginning of that century. That the AF really had the diphthong is also clearly stated by the Ortographia Gallica.

Is it necessary to assume that in early ME the AF *au* < *a* should have resulted in a diphthong *au*? If not, is it probable that AF *au* could supersede the early ME monophthong? Both questions seem to require a negative answer. From the early 13th c. we find coexisting ME spellings *au*, *a* in these words. From the same period *ou* begins to interchange with *o*, *u* as a symbol for *ū*. While thus a digraph was no extraordinary spelling for a monophthong, it was not possible to express a diphthong through a single vowel. In the same way as the *ou*, which in OF came to be written for *u* in general, was specialized in ME for *ū*, so AF *au/n* was adopted to signify *ā*, although the conflicting influence of AF *au* and Central F *a* prevented any consistency in the ME spelling of this *ā*. Even in Ell. the spelling is far from being uniform on this point, although *au* is in the majority, often indicated simply by a following *n̄* (*an̄* = *aun*). That *au* was not always a symbol of length is clear from its occurrence in stressless syllables, where length was impossible. Cp. *-aunce*, *-aunt*. Hence the spelling *au/n* can be said to have represented a traditional spelling, in ME meaning *ā* or *ă*. The short quantity was not reduced to the unstressed syllables. Thus words like B 2767 *abaundoneth* (abandons), D 1156 *auncestres* (ancestors), D 411

[1] Uhlemann, St. Auban, in Rom. St. 4, 596.

raunson (ransom), where the later development presupposes ă, were analogous to words of the dissyllabic type in general.

Various interpretations of the development of the AF *aun* in ME have been suggested. The explanation given by ten Brink, § 70, according to which Ch.'s pronunciation of this sound should be defined as 'dunkleres ā', written $\bar{a}^{u}$, really comes nearer to an accurate solution of the problem than those given by Luick and Vietor. Only it is difficult to accept the back ('dunkleres') quality of this ā, as that kind of ā could hardly have passed into the ǣ that must have preceded ModE [ā] in *grant*, etc. It may rather be supposed to have had much the same quality as its modern equivalent and could hardly differ from the normal ME ā.

Luick, Anglia 16,479, assumes a ME diphthong as the necessary substrate of ModE [ɔ], and suggests as a probable development: *au* > ā > ǣ > ā (p. 486). The first of these changes — *au* > ā — strikes me as irreconcilable with English sound-laws in general — an exception being the monophthongization of *au* before a labial.

The contradictions presented by some transcriptions in early NE are not real. The *galawnt* given by Salesbury (1547) as parallel to *bawe* (ball) no doubt designated a monophthong (ɔ̄), which, however, did not come from a ME *au*, but was a direct imitation of French[1] (see below). The transcriptions given by Hart are somewhat inconsistent on this point. He transcribes, for instance, the *a* in *change* as ā, ă, *au*. See Jespersen, Hart's pron., 91, 93, 98 resp.

The whole question may appropriately be examined from a ModE point of view as well. We have then to distinguish between three categories of words belonging here.

1) *Words with only* [ā], as *chance, dance, grant*, etc. All of these words are popular and show the regular result of the development ME ā > ǣ > ā before a nasal/cons.

[1] ModE has [*gælənt*] and [*gəlænt*] — with a differentiation in meaning — of which the former represents the regular development, the latter a spell.-pron. with French stress, whereas the pronunciation given by Salesbury no longer exists.

2) *Words with only* [ɔ̄], as *daunt*. This group is very small, and the [ɔ̄] is due to an early NE spelling-pronunciation. This of course arose after the monophthongization of ME *au*, at a time when ME ā had developed so strongly in the direction of ǣ that this vowel could no longer be a proper substitute for the spelling *au*. Consequently, when early NE took up a word like *jaunt* from French, the vowel that best rendered the French sound was a kind of ǭ, which of course was written *au*. There seems to have prevailed a tendency at that time to introduce the spelling *au/n* in many words with earlier *a/n*, which of course was connected with the attempt to remodel the English pronunciation after the French. Cp. Salesbury's *galawnt*. See also under 3).

3) Words with [ā] and [ɔ̄], as *gaunt*, *haunt*, etc. Here [ā] represents the popular development, whereas [ɔ̄] is due to French influence. Thus both vowels could coexist in different classes of people, and if it is true that in the last century the more refined [ɔ̄] has been gaining ground (Jespersen, Gr. I 301), such a tendency is only in keeping with the general inclination to spelling-pronunciation that is the result of education.

Vietor, Phon. § 49 A 6, assumes a series ă > æ̆ > ǣ > ā, which is unsatisfactory, as it does not account for the ModE short vowel in *native* words containing the same sounds (*hand*, etc.). The differentiation between French and native words of this type must be original in ME.

It is obvious, too, that a differentiation of *au* — if a diphthong existed — into ā and æ̆, which would naturally have been presupposed by the discrepancy between the vowels in, for instance, *dance—abandon*, is absurd, since in other positions *au* developed consistently to [ɔ̄], no matter if the word belonged to the monosyllabic or dissyllabic type.

This ME *ā/n + cons.* at first coincided with ME ā in other positions. Later on — in the 17th c. — a differentiation took place, owing no doubt to the fact that when the regular ǣ was being more and more raised towards ę̄, a

following nasal + cons. preserved the *ǣ*-vowel, which again later on developed in the opposite direction, that is, it was lowered to *ā* — except in the American English which still has [*ǣ*]. — Only in one case did the raising of *ǣ* to *ē* take place even before *n/cons.*, namely when *n* was followed by *dʒ* (*strange*, etc.). Of course *dʒ*, as a palatal group of sounds, favoured the raising of *ǣ*, primarily by palatalizing the *n*.

ă.

Sources:

1) *a* in checked syllables in general. — Exceptions: words of the monosyllabic type containing *a/n + cons.*[1] (p. 61) or *a/st* (p. 60).

C 202 awarde (to award) < e(s)warder = CF esguarder < ex + *guardare (to guard), of Gic origin. See next word.
: warde (keeping) < *warde[2] = CF garde < Gic *warda

A 239 champioun (champion) < CF champiun < *campio, -ōnis (< campus)

LGW 926 lanterne < lanterne < lanterna

A 270 marchant (merchant) < CF marchant[3] < mercans, -antis

A 17 marshal < CF mareschal < OHG marahscalc

A 72 parfit (perfect) < parfit[3] < perfectus

A 2732 rancour (ill-feeling) < rancour < rancor, -ōris

A 2568 sarge (serge) < sarge[3], serge < sērica
: large < large < larga (< largus)

B 2789 scarsetee[4] (scarcity) < escarsetee, to scars < *ex-carpsus (L excerptus)

[1] If this consonant was *k*, in which case *n* became *ŋ*, short quantity likewise arose: B 1392 *frănkes* : *flănkes* : *thănkes* (p. 61 Note 2).

[2] Rather than OE *wēard*, which would have given *e* in Ch. (p. 38).

[3] On the sporadic transition of *er* < *ar* in OF, see Schw. § 84 A. Cp., however, NED, where *sarge* is traced back to a LowL **sārica*, which is unnecessary at least for OF.

[4] The ModE pron. points to ME length, but such an assumption is untenable. The explanation of the long NE vowel must be looked for in the doublet *escas*, found in ME as well as in OF. This word had naturally *ā*. Probably both forms coexisted for some time, but finally

A 975 targe[1] < targe < Scand. targa
: large

Remarkable is the short vowel in *passe* manifested by
B 4501 passe (to pass) : asse (ass)
C 940 ~ : lasse (less)

I have found *passe* : *asse* 6 times. The doublet *pāce* (p. 55) is far more common, occurring 16 times as a rime-word in the CT alone. The prevalence of *pāce* was certainly due to its greater possibilities as a rime-word. In prose we find only *ss* (Frieshammer, 125).

The two doublets are explained by Wild, 206, as derived from the end- and the stem-stressed forms respectively, the former producing, as in the case of *juger* (p. 47), a short ME vowel. Here, too, the objection may be raised, however, that in ME the unchecked vowel of a monosyllabic word was generally long, so that it is immaterial in this case if we start from the stem- or the end-stressed forms of the OF verb, since we do not know if these two groups had a different quantity in OF. The ME differentiation must be connected with the vacillation found in the rendering of *e/s* which in one word resulted in *ē*, in another word in *ĕ* (below). The French *s* may have had, as it has to-day, the character of a half-long consonant, and could therefore be interpreted differently by English ears. Considering the popularity of a word like *passe*, it was natural that *păsse* should be victorious, since intervocalic long (unvoiced) *s* did not occur after long vowels in native words. The alternative *ā/s* no doubt belonged to the educated classes. — Cp. Morsbach, Festgabe für Wendelin Förster, 324.

2) *a* in open syllables of words of the dis- or polysyllabic types. — Excepted are the cases where length was due to a following velar syllable or a hiatus-*i* (pp. 28, 32). — *-arie* is treated separately below. — Examples:

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the *r*-less form disappeared, and only its long vowel survived. — Cp. *bass* (perch) > OE *bærs*, which shows that the *r*-less form *scas* very well *may* originate in ME, not necessarily in OF. — See also Pogatscher, Angl. 31, 262, 265.

[1] This rime makes it clear that the word cannot be traced back to OE *targe*. As to *target* we find *g* even in French: OF *targuette*.

A 164 chápeleyne (chaplain) < CF chapelain < *capellānus (< capella)
E 817 compárison < comparisun = CF comparaison < comparātio, -ōnis
A 1378 hábit (habit) < habit < habitus
A 1333 Iálousye[1] (jealousy) < jalous (jelous) < *zēlosus (< zēlus)
A 121 mádame (cp. dāme, p. 57) < ma dame
B 3789 mánace (menace) < manace, menace < mināciæ, pl.
A 2494 páleys (palace) < palais < palātium
A 315 pátent[2], sb. < patent < patens, -entis
A 20 tábard < tabard, of uncertain origin (See Kört.: tapēte)
A 3835 vánitee < vanitee < vānitās, < ātis

3) *arie.* The words in *-ărie*, where the hiatus-*i* was effectless because the following *-e* was unstressed (p. 32), may conveniently be placed here, as it is not necessary to consider the *i* as a consonant or as nonsyllabic, since we shall see that a superfluous syllable was not entirely irreconcilable with the metrical structure of Ch.'s verse (Part III).

A 3410 cárie (to carry) < carier < *carricāre (< carrus)
: tárie (to tarry) < OE tærgan[3] (to bother)
: Márie (Cp. Orrm: *Marze*)
B 374 ~ : wárye (to curse) < OE āwærgan[3]
C 196 ~ : ádversárie < adversarie < CF adversair < adversārius
HF 807 várye (to vary) < varier < variāre
: contrárye < contrarie < CF contraire < contrārius

[1] According to Wild, 235, Ell. has a proportion of $a : e = 19 : 2$ for Ialous(ye). Whether the *a*-forms belonged to Ch. or not may be uncertain; they show, however, an unsuccessful attempt to replace the early ME *e*-forms, which were normal in AF (see Moisy), by the CF *a*-forms, which themselves were borrowed from other dialects (See Schw. § 84 A).

[2] Luick, Angl. 30,35, calls attention to the fact that this word had regularly *ă*, whereas *pătent* (open), adopted in the 15th c., has long vowel through spelling-pronunciation. ModE still keeps up this difference, but in America they are used interchangeably.

[3] The regular Anglian form had *e*, but in the Mercian dialect (Rushworth) we also find *æ* representing the *i*-umlaut of *ea/r*. See Sievers, § 159, 2.

The modern *vary* points to a long vowel. To all appearance this was due to spelling-pronunciation, and the ā was moreover regular in the related words *vāriance, -ant, -ous*, so that these forms may have contributed to the victory of ā in the verb.

In ModE *Mary*, too, the spelling seems to have been influential on the pronunciation. Of course such a spelling-pron. may have coexisted, with the other form even in Ch.'s days. — Cp. also *Marry* (interj.).

The suffix *-arie*, generally unstressed, sounds in ModE [ərɪ]. It is noteworthy, however, that in the American pronunciation the adverbs in *-arily* (as *temporarily*) consistently receive the chief stress on the antepenult. This way of stressing is of course due to the general tendency of placing the stress on the antepenult, and this tendency has been so strong that even the corresponding adjectives have a distinct *secondary* stress on the suffix. In England the initial stress has been monopolized in this case. Cp. *-orie*, p. 101.

Special cases.

First a word about *-al* in rimes.

A 2290 cerial (evergreen oak) < *cerial < OItal. cereal (< cerrus)
: al (all)

A 1910 coral < coral < corallum (But AF corail < corallium)
: wal (wall)

A 1664 general < general < generālis
: al (all)

E 47 special < especial < speciālis
: smal (small)

As an unstressed suffix *-al* naturally had a short vowel. That we do not find the artificial lengthening in rime which we can ascertain in, for instance, *prisoun, naturel*, when the stress came to fall on the last syllable, is due to the fact that no rime-words in *āl* existed. We have seen above (p. 56) that as soon as an *-e* was added to such words, an analogical lengthening arose.

Remarkable is the rime

B 3800 *chaar* (chariot) < CF char < carrus
: war (aware) : totar (tore to pieces) : bar (carried)

This word ought to have had a development parallel to that of *staat*, and it is most likely that in spite of the above rime the normal pronunciation had *ā* in this word. True, Ell. writes quite often *baar* (Wild, 319), which points to an analogical lengthening, but we have no proof of such a length for Ch. himself. In any case, adjectival forms like *smăl* — *smāle* were still kept apart, as is proved by rimes, so the above rime cannot be pure, which is not very blameworthy considering the great number of rime-words required.

Remarkable is likewise the absence of length in C 648 *plat* (flat) : that, if this word must be traced back to OF. Phonetically satisfactory is the assumption of borrowing from OLG *plat*, but it seems more appropriate to reckon with influence from *flat* (< Scand. *flatr*), which was more common than the French synonym.

Finally a word has to be said about *a/m + cons.* This latter consonant, which was invariably a homorganic *b* or *p*, was either original or inserted in OF between *m* and a following consonant.

D 838 amble (to amble) < ambler < ambulāre
B 167 chambre < CF chambre < camera
A 1175 dampned (condemned) < dam(p)ner < damnāre
A 2842 ensamples (example) < ensample (= CF essample) < exemplum
B 3353 flambes (flames) < flambe < flamble < flammula

It may be pointed out at once that Ell., although writing generally *au* before *n/cons.*, never has *au* in these words. If *au*, as has been rendered likely from an earlier discussion, simply denoted length, it is obvious that the *a* of these words had a short vowel. In fact, the later development presupposes ME *ă* to account for the vowel in

amble, damn, sample. The other words call for a special explanation.

The [e^i] in *chamber* is indeed remarkable. Parallel instances are found only in *cambric, Cambridge,* and it is not advisable to formulate a sound-law affecting three words only. It can simply be ascertained that *ā* had developed between *k, tʃ* and *mb.* A spelling-pron. seems out of question.

It is easier to determine the relations of *sample* and *example.* The former word evidently followed the development of popular words. Hence the ModE [æ]. In *example* we can see another instance of the revival of French influence in early NE, resulting — as was said above (p. 64) — in the substitution of *ǭ* for native *ā* in a number of French loans. In many cases this influence was accompanied by the substitution of *au* for *a.* In fact, in early NE we find also the spelling *chaumber,* pointing to *ǭ.* But it is natural that *ǭ* should change to *ā* before a labial. Cp. *alms, calm* etc. As to *flambe,* we have no reason to doubt its short vowel. Mod. E *flame* goes back to ME *flāme* < AF *flām(m)e* < *flamma.*

e.

Spelling.

As a rule *e* is used in the Ell. MS to express long as well as short quantity. In close syllables *ee* is frequently written, occasionally also in open syllables, to designate length. Rarely do we meet with the traditional spellings *ie, oe* for *ē.*

ę̄.

(α) Monosyllabic type. — Sources:

1) *e* in originally checked position.

The originally unchecked *ę* had given *ie* in CF, *ę* in AF, which became ME *ę̄.* The words belonging to the said group retained the *ę* before a geminated consonant, which was later on simplified. On *e/dʒ, tʃ,* see p. 43. — Examples:

B 1066 cę̄sse (to cease) < cesse < cessāre
: encrę̄sse (to increase)
: relę̄sse (to release)

A 3164 enquę̄re[1] (to inquire) < enquerre < *inquærere (L inquirere)
: thę̄re
E 769 ~ : wę̄re (< wǣron)
E 1544 ~ : teere (tear)
B 4154* fumetę̄rre (fumitory) < fumeterre < fūmus terræ
: thę̄re
A 407* Fynystę̄re (Cape Finisterre) < fīnis terræ
: wę̄re (wǣron)
B 676 prees (crowd) < *press < pressus
: giltlees (guiltless)
A 3704 tę̄te[2] (teat) < tette < Gic *titta (G Zitze, OE tit)
: swę̄te (to sweat)

A few instances of artificial lengthening of normally unstressed and short vowels in words of the same source may be given too.

B 2072* ciprees (cypress) < cypres < cypressus < (Gr. κυπάρισσος)
: pees (peace)
25, 11 renovę̄le* (to renew) < renoveler < *renovellāre (< novus)
: quarę̄le (quarrel) < querele < querella

2) *ai*, monophtongized over *ei* to ę̄ before a single consonant, except *l*, *r*, or a *nasal*. A *muta cum liquida* did not shorten the monophthongized vowel: A 2178 *ę̄gle* (eagle) < aigle < aquila, B 2367 *ę̄gre* (eager) < aigre < ācer, ācris.

B 4512 countrefę̄te (to counterfeit) < contrefait < contrā + factum
: bę̄te (to beat)
C 447 ~ : whę̄te (wheat)

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[1] The open vowel seems to be consistent only in the infinitive of this verb. As a rule the gemination of *r* was preserved (p. 81). The length here was no doubt analogical from the normal form with ę̄ (p. 76), corresponding to the *ie* of the stem-stressed CF forms. — The ModE form is a Latinism.

[2] This rime shows that this word cannot be derived from OE *tit*, as has been done in Stratm.-B's ME Dict., since, even if we reckon with the possibility of Kentish ę̄ in *swete*, no lengthening of OE *i-* > ę̄ took place in Ch.'s language.

B 1482 ę̄se (ease) < aaise < adjacens (Kört.)[1]
: plę̄se (to please) < plais- < placēre
C 59 greesse (grease) < graisse < *crass(i)a (< crassus)
: encrę̄sse[2] (to increase) < encresce = OF encroistre < incrēscere
A 2667 pees (peace) < pais < pax, -ācis
: doutelees (doubtless)
B 1069 relę̄sse (to release) < relaisser < relaxāre
: cę̄sse (to cease)
B 3501 trę̄te (to treat) < traiter < tractāre
: grę̄te (great, pl.)
C 521 ~ : mę̄te[3] (meat) < OE mete

That the monophthongization did not take place on English soil is clear from the fact that in native words this diphthong was preserved. The instances of monophthongization in OF are indeed early enough to justify the assumption that this process was completed by the time the influx of French words began. See Schw. § 223 and M-L § 90. The latter quotes a rime from Benoit de S. More: *apres* : *pes* (peace), showing that *ai* had become a monophthong. — Cp. also the contraction resulting in ę̄. See 3).

Before *l*, *n* the diphthong was preserved. The CF *l̃*, *ñ* had given an AF *il*, *in*, which arose later than the above monophthong.

For the unexpected diphthong in *paleys* (palace), *trays* (traces), *wayte* (to wait), and occasionally in *eyse* (ease), see under *ai* (Special cases).

3) *e*, the result of a contraction that had taken place chiefly in AF, where hiatus-vowels showed an early tendency to disappear. While in CF pretonic hiatus-*e* remained

[1] This etymology is not certain, but it seems preferable to the others suggested.

[2] The monophthong here is remarkable, since, as we shall see below *ei* = CF *oi* was generally preserved in ME. — The *ss* was frequently used to express the unvoiced *s* between two vowels.

[3] This is one of the rather rare rimes where an ę̄ in a French word rimes with ē < OE *e*-.

syllabic up to the 14th c. (Schw. § 271), it had disappeared in AF as early as the 12th c. — Examples:

III 254 mę̄ne (means) < me(i)en < mediānus
: mę̄ne (to mean)
: clę̄ne (clean)

A 482 preeche, (to preach) < OF preechier < prædicāre
: tę̄che (to teach)

B 4326 rę̄mes (realms) < reaume < *rēgālimen (< rex, rēgis)
: drę̄mes (dreams)

D 604 seel (seal) < seël < sigillum (According to M.-L. Gr. § 41 with *-ellum*, as in vitellum)
: wę̄l (well)

E 1420* veel (veal) < veël < vitellus
: pykerę̄l[1] (pickerel), to pīk (pike) + erel (dimin.)

4) *ę̄st*

A 2602 arrę̄st[2], sb. < arrest, to arrester < *arrestāre (< restāre)
: Ēst (East)

B 1945 beest[3] (beast) < beste < *besta (L bestia)
: almę̄st (almost)
: Ēst (East)

F 1369 fę̄ste (feast) < feste < festa
: arę̄ste (to arrest)

B 2124 geeste[4] (feat) < geste < *gesta (< gero)
: leeste (least)

B 383 requę̄ste[5], sb. < requeste < *requæsītum (< quæro)
: heeste (hest) (< OE hǣs + -t)

B 491* tempę̄ste[6] < tempeste < *tempesta (L tempestas, -ātis)
: Ēst (East)

The rimes point to a good deal of vacillation for the quantity of *e/st*. It has been shown above (p. 61) that the normal result should be a long vowel, length being found

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[1] Artificial stress and length.

[2] But A 827 areste, vb. : lĕste (to list) < OE lystan (Kent *e*).

[3] D 1034 best (beast) : bĕst (best).

[4] LGW 87 geste : lĕste (to list).

[5] F 1056 requeste : brĕste (to burst).

[6] Artificially stressed and lengthened. But B 1751 *honest* : *lĕst* (to list) : *nĕst*, sb.

probably even in AF. In point of fact, most rimes go to prove *ę̄* for Ch., and we have only to try to explain the exceptions. To begin with, it is natural that in normally unstressed syllables the vowel should be short (*honĕst*), so that such words could as easily rime with *ĕst* as with *ę̄st*, the latter case showing the normal artificial lengthening analogical to that in words of the monosyllabic type. Thus a riming *honést* became parallel to *beest*. It is hardly probable, however, that this unstressed *-ĕst* should have itself contributed to the creation of doublets like *requĕste*. The preference gradually given to *ĕst* must be ascribed to the tendency of substituting familiar and frequent sound-groups for those of rare occurrence. In *beast*, *feast*, which were among the earliest French loans, the length was easily definitely settled, owing to the popular character of these words. In course of time, when the influence of French pronunciation was decreasing, the common native *ĕst* was the popular rendering of the French group, while *ę̄st* was still used and was probably favoured by educated people. The latter alternative was evidently preferred by Ch., but he did not despise the popular forms, when they were suitable in rime.

(β) Dissyllabic type. — Source:

ai, monophthongized before a single cons., except liquid or nasal.

E 25 rę̄soun < raison < ratio, -ōnis

A 2001 trę̄son < traison < trāditis, -ōnis

E 1692 trę̄tee (treaty) < traite < tractātus

F 1197 *heron* < hairon < Gic *haig- in its later development had the vowel shortened. The monophthongization of *ai* is itself noteworthy. The first appearance of the word in ME fell in the 14th c. (NED), so that the word was very likely adopted after the AF monophthongization.

(γ) Trisyllabic type. — Source:

e, with a hiatus-*i* in the next syllable (p. 32).

C 775 prę̄cious < precius < pretiōsus.

B 1512 suspę̄cioun (suspicion[1]) < suspecion < suspectio (Georges)

[1] Remodelled on L *suspicio*.

ē.

(α) Monosyllabic type. — Sources:

1) ę < ă in stressed unchecked position, without a palatal preceding or following it.

G 200 appeere (to appear) < apér-, to apareír < appārēre
: heere (here) : cleere (clear) < cler < clārus

B 1908 contree (country) < contree < *contrāta (< contrā)
: free

B 453 iniquitee (iniquity) < iniquitee < inīquitas, -ātis
: pitee (pity) < pite < pietas, -ātis

E 1692 tretee (treaty) < traite < tractātus
: be

Some of these rimes contain words that in normal speech had a different stress, but in this case there is nevertheless the question of a normal, not an artificial lengthening of the vowel. How is this length to be explained?

To begin with, the stress was not as yet so concentrated upon one syllable as it is now, which of course facilitated to some extent the lengthening in question, but was not sufficient to make length prevalent in every unchecked syllable with a secondary stress. It was only in final position of polysyllabic words that a lengthening of *e* could arise. There a tendency towards shortening was counterbalanced by the coexistence of a perfectly stressless *-e* — in native and borrowed words — which as a rule was still preserved in Ch.'s language (Part III). Thus ē was here emphasized so as to be distinctly kept apart from *-e* with which it might otherwise have coalesced. The same tendency of lengthening a final vowel is still noticeable, not only in words of this type: *pity, possibility* etc., where the final sound is an *e*-like vowel with long rather than short quantity, but also in other cases[1]: *þiətə* (theatre), where the second *ə* represents a decidedly longer vowel than the first; *felou* (fellow), which even when it appears as the vulgar *felə* has a final vowel of about the same length as

[1] I do not refer here to such spelling-pronunciations as [*krōufei*] beside [*króufi*]), [*sóulōu*] etc.

-ə in *piətə*; *vœlju* (value), which now is pronounced with short as well as long final vowel (Jones § 360), etc. The occasional *jə̄* (year) for *jiə* is possible simply because *iə* was made a rising diphthong, which again presupposes that in *iə ə* was longer than *i*.

2) *ẹ* = CF *ie*, (α) < *ẹ* in unchecked position, (β) < *ă* preceded by palatal , (γ) < *ā* in *-ārius*[1].

A 858* cheere (face, look) < CF ch(i)ere < *cara < Gr. κάρα
: maneere (manner) < man(i)ere < *manuāria (< manus)

D 269* fee, sb. < fee = CF fie (ML feodum)
: solempnytee

G 1224 greeve (to grieve) < griev-, inf. grever < *grevāre (< *grevis for gravis)
: preeve (to prove)

B 1725 mateere (matter) < matiere < L māteria
: grammere[2] = grammaire < L grammatica

E 1171 mayntẹ̄ne (to maintain)[3] < maintien-, inf. -tenir < manū tenēre
: grẹ̄ne (green)

A 1325* meschеef (mischief) < meschief < minus *capum (for caput)
: theef (thief)

V 1042 relẹ̄ve (to relieve) < reliev-, inf. relever < relevāre
: slẹ̄ve (sleeve)

II 358 requẹ̄re[4] (to require) < requier-, inf. requerre < re + quærere
: chẹ̄re (cheer)

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[1] The change *-ārius* > *-ier* is unexplained (Schw. § 56 A). For *-arie*, see p. 67; *-aire*, see *ai*.

[2] For the OF form, see Tobler, Rom. II 254. As tho the ME form we have to assume a change of suffixes, since OF *-aire* gives ME *-aire*.

[3] The ModE form is best explained as the result of a confusion with *-teine* < *-tingere*, as in *attain*, etc. See Sturmfels, Angl. 8, 251. — The ME *ẹ̄* naturally cannot originate in the end-stressed forms of the OF verb, as Wild, 214, wants to make likely. That would give ME *ẹ̄*. More possible is his second suggestion, according to which *ẹ̄* is due to a school-pron. of the Latin *tēnet*.

[4] Cp. D 1052 requẹ̄re (< requerre) : thẹ̄re. Se p. 71 Note 1.

B 1926* rivēr < river(e)[1] = CF riviere < rīpāria (< rīpa)
: deer (deer)
B 3339 see (seat) < se (CF sie) < *sedem (A sēdes)
: bee (to be)
C 685* taverner (innkeeper) < tavernier < *tabernārius (< taberna)
: yeer (year)

Likewise Ch. had undoubtedly ẹ̄ in A 1598 *fiers* (fierce) < *fiers* < *ferus*. This word *may* owe its long vowel to the coexisting doublet *fēr* (< feru[m]), but it is hardly necessary to assume analogical influence here, since a vowel derived from an OF diphthong was regularly long.

The common suffix *-er* had of course normally ĕ, the length being artificial in rimes. That we find ẹ̄ (not ē) was due to French influence, since words containing this *-er* were constantly taken over.

3) *ø* (*ue*) = CF *ue* < *o*.

In AF we find spellings *oe*, *ue*, *u*, *e*, of which *u* points to a falling diphthong (*úe*), *e* to a rising diphthong (*uê*) as the earlier stages of the vowel. But it should be noted that the spelling *e may* quite as well represent an English spelling of the *ø*, which in the vernacular became unrounded. It is not unlikely that even in AF *e* was substituted for *ø* through the influence of English. In any case, a falling diphthong must have been more natural here, since the less sonorous element (*e*) of the diphthong was more apt to be absorbed by a more sonorous vowel (*u*) than vice versa. For the same reason *i* was given up in *ie* (above) and *üi* (see *iu*). For a further discussion of this question, see Sturmf., Anglia 9, 553, and Menger, 71.

C 260 pēple (people) < pueple < populus
G 968 preef (proof) < *pruev(e)[2] = CF prueve > *proba (< probāre)
: theef (thief)

[1] Although the loss of *-e* may originate, as in a good many other cases, in AF, we had better assume here influence from the *-er* < *-ārius*. In fact, the influence of this suffix even extended to the rare *-ere* < OE *-ere*, usually appearing as *-ēre* in Ch.'s rimes. Note (although in Sir Thopas)
B 2103 dextrer (courser) < destrier < *dextrārius (< dextra)
: wonger (pillow)

[2] As to the loss of *-e*, see Part III.

l 470 prēve[1] (to prove) < pruev-, to prover < probāre
: mēve[1] (to move) < muev-, to moveir < movēre

In *pēple* the group *pl* did not bring about a shortening of the vowel, and it is quite natural to apply the same explanation here as in the case of *table* (p. 55), but in the absence of other instances containing a long vowel/*pl*, it is more advisable to hold to the explanation given for *fierce*, namely that an OF diphthong was rendered by a ME *long* vowel.

4) *e* in learned loans.

For many of these words we are of course at perfect liberty to assume direct Latin origin. The vowel would in any case be ẹ̄, since the ME spelling-pronunciation of the letter *e* was ẹ̄ (p. 48). Most of the words belonging here do occur in OF, and even those that did not naturally joined analogous types of the OF loans.

F 43 diadēme* < diademe < diadēma (< Gr.)
: seeme (to seem)

B 1451* diēte < diete < diæta < (Gr.)
: hēte (heat) (< Kent. ẹ̄ = WS ǣ$_1$)

V 194 mansuēte[2] (courteous) < mansuete < mansuētus
: swēte (sweet)
: mēte (to meet)

E 31 poēte* < poete < poēta
: sweete (sweet)

16, 30 procēde < proced-er < prōcēdere
: mēde (meed, reward) < OE mēd
: spēde (to succeed) < OE spēdan

G 329 ~ : drede 'dread' (WS ǣ$_2$)

B 223 prophēte < profete < profēta < (Gr. προφήτης)
: sweete (sweet)

B 1131 quiēte < quiete < quiētus
: heete[3] (to promise)

[1] Later on *prove, move* were reintroduced from the end-stressed forms of the verbs.

[2] The suggestion given by Behrens, Pauls Grdr. I, 970, that this word was influenced by the native *sweete*, seems questionable.

[3] This vb. had apparently ẹ̄ in all tenses generalized from the pret. *hēt* < OE *hēt*, since we find this form riming also with B 1129 *sweete*

16, 11 spere (sphēre) < espere < sphæra < (Gr. σφαῖρα)
: hēre (here)

E 632 succeede < succed(er) < succēdere
: drēde 'dread' (WS ǣ$_2$)

(β) Polysyllabic type. — Source:
e in hiatus. See p. 31.

C 901 crēatour (creator) < creatur < creātor, ōris

B 3298 gēaunt (giant) < geant, jaiant[1] < *gagante (L gigās, -antis)

A 2186 lēoun (lion) < leon < leo, -ōnis

The last two words had already the doublets *giant, lion* (Schw. § 84 A) in OF, preserved in ModE. — In *creator* a shifting of stress has taken place, according to Metzger, 28, by a direct imitation of Latin, but more likely through the influence of *create*, which I have found in Ch. only in the past pple *creat* (16, 2 thát creát were — — —). This influence was evidently of a later date, since Hart (Jesp., 76) still transcribes *krētiur*. Hart's *e*, instead of *i*, was probably due to the monophthongization of *ea*.

ĕ.

Sources:

1) *e* before any cons. group, whether original or not, except *st* (see p. 73). For *fiers, peple*, see pp. 77, 78.

The number of syllables is immaterial. Rimes:

E 441 amende < amender < ēmendāre
: wende, pret. of OE wēnan (to believe)

(sweet). Of course both instances might be explained as Kentish ē̤-forms, but the Kentish ē̤ for WS ǣ is rather exceptional in Ch. Generally speaking, the WS — or rather Saxon Patois, since in Ch. a word like *sheep*, riming with ē̤ and ē̤ in the same way as *dēd* (WS ǣ$_2$), presupposes **scǣp* (ǣ$_2$), not *scēap* (cp. Bülbr. § 153 A) — had its ǣ-vowels regularly continuated in Ch.'s language, and the rimes show that there cannot have been any closening influence of a following dental in his dialect.

[1] The result of contraction would, strictly speaking, give ME ē̤, but the position in hiatus was no doubt decisive for the quality of the vowel.

D 1200 chalenge < CF chalenger[1] < *calumniāre (L calumniāri)
: alenge (miserable) < OE ælenge

F 224 comprehende < comprehender < comprehendere
: ende, sb.

C 212 converte[2] < convertir < *convertīre (L convertere)
: herte (heart)

B 1822 deserve < deservir < dēservīre
: sterve (to starve)

A 3173 reherse (to rehearse) < rehercier, to herce < hirpex, -icis
: werse (worse)

Other instances, not controllable by rimes, are:

A 666 gérland (garland) < gerlande (and garlande) < to Gic *wir- (OE wīr 'wire')

B 2052 pércing[3] (piercing) < percier < *peritiāre

A 478 pérsoun (parson) < persun < persōna

2) *e* before double consonant, chiefly in learned word.

The gemination was preserved in ME, and the preceding vowel became short. — On *e/dʒ*, see p. 43.

B 3162 celle < celle < cella
: telle (to tell)

D 154 dette (debt) < dette < dēbita
: lette (to hinder)

D 129 ~ : sette (to set)

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[1] Beside *chalonger*. The *e*-form came perhaps from the end-stressed forms. Ell. had also *chalange* (F 1324, etc.), for which we find AF *chalanger* (Moisy).

[2] As to the combination *e/r* + *cons.* we observe that many of the rimes Ch. used unscrupulously are now impossible. These rimes *were* of course correct, and surprising is only the later discrepancy, some words — chiefly French — preserving the *e*, others — chiefly native — developing an *a* before *r*. This must be interpreted in such way that the natural tendency was towards *a*, but that this tendency was counteracted by a refined pronunciation, based on French or on the orthography. The case is one of class dialect, as Wyld calls it.

[3] The ē̯ presupposed by the ModE form cannot be proved for Ch. Cp. *fiers* (fierce), p. 77, where ē̯ was from *ie*. — The etymology given above seems to me more attractive than that of **pertusiāre* (< *pertundere*), especially in view of the Picardian *percher*, where *ch* presupposes a *ti̯* (or *ki̯*).

A 3467 dresse (to direct) < CF drecier < *dīrectiāre (< dīrectus)
: gesse (to guess)

A 2751 expelle < espeller (later expeller) < expellere
: swelle, inf. — Cp. the regular IV 294 repęled (: sęled 'sealed')

B 2139 expresse < expresser < *expressāre (< presso)
: lesse (less) < OE lǣssa

E 593* gentillesse < gentillesse [1], and gentilise < *gentīlitia (< gentīlis)
: countesse < contesse < *comitissa (< comes, -itis)

A 919 ~ : distresse < destresse [1], destrece < *dēstrictia (< dēstrictus)

10, 71 intresse (interest) < interesse (NED) < interesse
: rightwisnesse
: sikernesse

E 394* markysesse (marchioness) < marquis + esse
: rudenesse < rude + OE -nesse

A 82 presse < presser < pressāre
: gesse (to guess)

F 5 rebelle < rebeller < rebellāre
: telle (to tell)

A 1447 werre (war) < *werre = CF guerre < Gic (OHG) werra
: derre (dearer) < OE deorra

Of course it is not possible to refer all these words to one group of exceptional development, since we find here not only learned, but also some quite popular words. As to the learned words it seems justifiable to believe that OF really had gemination where the Latin spelling had double consonant[2]. In any case, we may safely assume that when such OF words came over into ME with the Latin spelling retained, they were bound to receive a spelling-pron. on account of their chiefly literary use.

The popular words, however, should have lost their gemination and got a long vowel in ME with the exception

[1] The OF *-esse* < L *-issa* < Gr *-ισσα* seems here to have intruded into words where it did not belong. The regular development would have given ME *-ise*, and *ęse*.

[2] See Faulde, ZRPh IV 542.

of *rr*, which was preserved up to the 17th c. (Grdr. d. Rom. Phil. I 746[1]. Thus *wĕrre* is regular. Most of the other rimes contain *ss*. Of these those containing the suffix *-esse* naturally have a short vowel. The reason is the same as for *-est* (p. 73). That the short vowel was not confined to a normally unstressed syllable must be due to the fact that before a medial unvoiced *s* the vernacular had only a short vowel. Thus in popular words *ĕse* was preferred to *ę̄se*. Cp. *cease* (p. 70). We have seen that in the case of *passe* doublets existed in the poet's language, *păsse* being more popular (p. 66).

3) *el* (L *-ālis, -ellus, -illus*).

The quantity of this suffix was undoubtedly short in natural language. In rimes its quantity was rather ambiguous, so a detailed discussion of this point seems necessary.

Examples:

A 540* catel (cattle) < catel[2] < capitāle
: wel (well)

B 4439* condicioneel < condicionel < condicionālis
: deel, sb. < OE dǣl (part)

D 2002 cruel < cruel < *crūdālis (L crūdēlis)
: fel[2] (fierce) < fel < *fello, ōnis (< fell (gall)?, see NED felon)

D 1869* effectueel < effectuel < *effectuālis (Cp. < effectuōsus)
: weel (well)

HF 1021 hostel < hostel < hospitālis
: wel (well)

A 415* natureel < naturel < nāturālis
: deel, sb.

F 115 ~ : weel (well)

LGW 376 ~ : cruel, adj.

[1] Cp. Eickershoff: Über die Verdoppelung der Konsonanten im Altnormannischen (Archiv für d. St. d. neuren Spr. u. Lit. LXXV pp. 113, 285). He there arrives at the conclusion (p. 336) that in ONorm. *ll, rr, mm, nn*, really indicated a geminated cons. Being based only on the double spellings, his conclusions are, however, not wholly reliable.

[2] The CF doublet resulted in ModE *chattel*.

H 235* textuel (learned) < textuel < *textuālis (< textus)
: deel, sb.
H 315 ~ : weel (well)

The question becomes complicated because of the scarcity of conclusive rimes. The most common of these rime-words, *wel* (well), rimes with ę̄ D 604: *seel* (seal), ę̄ A 926: *wheel*, sb., ĕ G 1283: *fel* < OE fēoll (fell).

That this word was so changeable was due to the fact that the original short vowel was partly preserved, partly, owing to the frequently unstressed position of the word giving rise to the combination *short e + short l* (Cp. *wăs*, p. 59), lengthened in emphatic speech, consequently also in rimes. To account for *wę̄l* we have to fall back upon an OE form *wēl*, assumed also by Bülbring (§ 284), but not given in the OE dictionaries[1]. This form is apparently presupposed also by Orrm's *wel*, berides *well* < OE *wel*.

Rimes with *wel* are therefore inconclusive. If we were to make a conjecture, however, on the basis of the spelling of the Ell. MS, we should arrive at the conclusion that in dissyllabic words *-ĕl* was preferred, whereas in polysyllabic words *-eel* = ę̆l was the regular form[2]. Such being the chase, the explanation s easily found in the fact that *-el* was a rather familiar native suffix in dissyllabic words and that a fusion of foreign and native *-el* had taken place. In polysyllabic words the secondary stress worked to preserve the possibility of lengthening. — This does not mean, however, that the same distinction was made in normal speech. What has been said refers to the conditions in rime.

The L *-ālis* ought to have given ME *-ę̄l* (p. 76). We have found that Ch.'s rimes point unanimously to *-ę̆l*, when the vowel was long. The question arises whether the open

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[1] Anglia, 542, tenB writes 'Zur Zeit, wo *sheld* zu *shēld* gedehnt wurde, entstand auch *wēl* aus *wel*' That seems rather unlikely. We should then expect lengthening before *ll*, *nn*, etc. in general.

[2] Cp. LGW 376 *naturel* : *ęl* where such a partition is impossible and where, in fact, ę̄ and ĕ were possible.

quality was produced in AF or in ME. That *ęl* arose in AF might seem unlikely in view of the fact that the confusion existing for *ę* and *ę* before *l* in AF was found also before *r*, whereas in ME *ęr* and *ęr* were clearly distinguished. It could therefore be tempting to assume that *ęl* was generalized from the short unstressed vowel in normal speech, but even in this case there would be a contrast between *-ęl* — *-ęr*, the latter suffix (< *ārius*) riming consistently with *ę*. The discrepancy between *-ęl* — *ęr* is satisfactorily accounted for, when we learn that in AF the coalescence of *ęr*, *ęr* into *ęr* was of a later date than that of *ęl*, *ęl* into *ęl* (Vising, ZFSL 39, 9). The confusion of *ęr*, *ęr* would then have been too late to be noticeable in the ME loan-words.

4) *-et* < *ittum*

This suffix too had naturally *ĕ* in ordinary pronunciation. It is only remarkable that even in rimes, where all unchecked syllables, stressed or unstressed, generally had a long vowel, the short quantity prevailed, as we find from

G 1308 crosselet[1] (crucible) < crosel + et < ittum
: set

C 392 pulpet[2] (pulpit) < pulpitr(e) < pulpitum
: yset (pa. p. of settan)

The short quantity cannot be ascribed to the close character of the OF *ę*, as opposed to *ę* in *-ęl* < *-ellum*, etc., because we know that length has asserted itself in ModE *neat* (< nitidus) as well as in *beak* (< bęc). The explanation is no doubt the same as in the case of *-el* in *catel*, etc. that is, we have to do with the analogy of a common native suffix *-el*, *et*, resp.

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[1] It cannot be ascertained whether G 1277 *crosselet* : *let* (contrivance) < *jet*, to *jeter* had short vowel or not. For the latter word we expect *ę*.

[2] With suffix-change in ME.

4) *e* in unchecked syllable of polysyllabic words, except such as had length owing to special conditions (pp. 28, 31, 32).

III 1753 élement < element < elementum
A 1996 félonye (crime) < felonie, to felon (See *fel*, p. 82.)
F 1563 héritage < heritage < *hērētāticum (< hērēs)
A 3141 légend(e) < legende < legenda (< lego)
B 3451 lépart (leopard) < leupard (with *u* absorbed by *p*) < leopardus
B 144 méssagé < message < *missāticum (< mitto)
E 470 présent, adj. < present < præsens, -entis
A 701 rélik (relic) < relique < reliquiæ
D 1509 rénably (reasonably) < resnable, rednable[2] < ratiōnābilis
B 4520 tréchery(e) < CF trecherie, to trechier (F tricher) < *triccare (L trīcāri)
HF 1277 trégetour (juggler) < tresgettur < *trajectātor (< jacio)
B 2519 vénym (venom) < venim < *venīmen (L venēnum)

Here we may place cases like

A 3067 serye (argument) < serie < L seriēs
: merye, pl. (merry)
V 1786 tregédye[3] < tragedie < tragoedia (< Gr.)
: comédye < comedie < cōmoedia (< Gr.)
B 3974 ~ : remédie < remedie (= CF remeide) < remedium

The last rime-word appears usually as *rémedie* : 5, 140 drye (dry), : V 916 jupartie, : B 1617 folye. This stress was indeed *a priori* to be expected. Cp. *-arie*, *-orie*, *studie*, etc. The stress presupposed above for this word and its rimes may be due to Latin influence.

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[1] The *ss* simply indicated voiceless [*s*], not a long *s*.

[2] This may be from *resdnable* < *res(o)nable*. Thus no trace was left of the length derived from the original diphthong in *raisonable*.

[3] Ell. has *tragedie*, which was probably Ch.'s form. *Tregedie* is explained by Zachrisson, Engl. St. 52, 316, as a phonetic doublet in late ME or, which seems decidedly preferable, as a phonetic doublet arisen in French.

i.

Spelling.

In Ell. we find *y* for *i* (= ĭ) before or after *m*, *n*, *u*, *w*, where an *i* would have made the reading difficult. (Cp. *o* for *u* in the same environment). — In final position *y* was consistently used. The pronoun *I* was written in the same way as to-day. — In words containing ī < AF *i* + *in* = CF *ñ* with the traditional *gn* preserved (as in *digne*, *resigne*), *ig* may be said to have represented ī. — Otherwise *i* and *y* were used more or less interchangeably for ī and ĭ.

ī.

(α) Monosyllabic type. — Source:

1) *i* in unchecked position. — As to *ible*, *ist*, see p. 115. Examples[1]:

E 1249 appetȳt[2] < apetit < appetītus
: delīt < delit < *dēlectus (< dīlectus)
D 624 ~ : whit (white)
G 298 baptīse[3] < baptisier < baptizāre (< Gr.)
: despīse < despis-, inf. despire < dēspicere.
B 4505* benefīce < benefice < beneficium
: nȳce (foolish) < nice < nescius

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[1] From the ME point of view it would be little profitable to group the examples according to the seven sources traceable for OF *i* (Schw. § 208). The decisive factor in this case is simply the checked or unchecked position of *i*.

[2] Here the length was still preserved by the time *i* was made a diphthong. That was hardly due to spelling-pron. We have rather to assume that the chief stress of this word lay on the final syllable, the prefix having only secondary stress. See p. 12.

[3] The stress was here on the ending according to the general tendency of verbs. — Cp. the unstressed *ice* in *cheryce* (to cherish) etc., which in OF was nothing but a conjugational infix and never received stress in ME, except in rime, as B 3710 *cheryce* : *nyce*. When not in rime, this suffix generally appears as *i(s)she*, occasionally *isse*, in Ell.

A 1718* caytȳves (wretches) < caitif, -ive (F chétif) < *cactīvus[1]
: lȳves, sb.

B 3693 chastīse[2] = CF chastier < castigare
: devȳse (to relate) < deviser < *dīvīsāre (< dīvīsus).

B 2044* comȳn[3] (cummin) < cumin < cumīnum (< Gr.)
: fȳn (fine) < fin < *fīnus (for fīnītus)

A 2215 digne[4] < digne (ign = īn) = CF digne (gn = ñ) < dignus
: benigne < benigne < benignus

A 663 diocīse[5] < diocise < *diocēsis, dioecēsis (< Gr.)
: gīse (guise) < CF guise < Gic *wīsa (OE wīse).

E 936 endīte (to write) < endit(i)er < *indictāre (< dictus)
: acquīte (to acquit) < aquit(t)er < *acquitāre (< quiētus)

4, 289* emperīce[6] (empress) < emperarice < imperātrix, īcis
: chevīse (to accomplish) < chevis-, to chevir < *capīre, (L capere) to capio

B 666* evangīles < evangil < evangelium (< Gr.)
: whīles

D 488 frȳe < frire < frīgere (to roast)
: Ialousīe < jalousie, to jalous < *zēlōsus (< zēlus)

B 546 isle < isle < insula
: while

B 664* Iustīse < justice < justitia
: avyse (to consider) < aviser < *advisāre (< ad + vīsus)

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[1] A contamination of **coactīvus* + *captīvus*. This origin is suggested by Körting (captīvus).

[2] *-īse* was apparently analogical from *īse* (Gr. ἰζειν) in *baptise*, etc.

[3] This word cannot very well be regarded as a continuation of OE *cymen* (< cumīnum). In the first place the OE word would have given *ĭ*, not *ŭ*, in Ch. Further, the second vowel does not agree with the OE form. The lengthening of a short vowel in rime was, moreover, confined to the French loan-words. Thus we have evidently to do with French origin here as well as in the case of so many other culinary terms.

[4] Cp. *resigne*, *vyne* with other rimes than self-rimes.

[5] ModE *diocese* (F diocèse) is refashioned on the Greek form. — As a learned word it may have had *ī* also in normal pron.

[6] The form *emperesse* is not proved by any rime, and does not occur in Ell. (Cp. Skeats Ed. F 1048.)

A 1740 Iuwīse[1] (justice) < juise < jūdicīum
: vīce, sb.

A 3690* licorȳs < lycoris (F liquerice) < liquīrītia (< Gr.)
: devȳs (devise)

B 363* malīce < malice < malitia
: vȳce < vice[2] < vitium

F 525 ~ : nȳce (foolish)

G 1381 mercȳ < merci < mercēs -ēdis
: sȳ < OE seah (< sēon)

LGW 960 navȳe (navy) < navie[3] < nāvigium
: hȳe (to hasten) < OE higian

A 309 parvȳs (space before a church) < parevis < paradīsum
(Cp. F 911 paradȳs : prȳs 'price'. — (For *v* in *parvis*, see Hatzf.-D. § 358.)
: wȳs (wise)

B 780 resigne < resigner < resignāre
(ī) : digne

1, 80* resīne : medicȳne < medicine < medicīna

B 1382* servīse < servise < servitium
: devise, vb.

C 451* vȳne (vine) < vigne < vīnea
: famȳne < famyne < *famīna (< famēs)

C 905* warīce[4] (to cure) < *waris-, CF guarir < Gic *warjan
: avarīce < avarice < avāritia

F 514* ypocrȳte < hypocrite < hypocrita (< Gr.)
: bȳte (to bite)

D 1742 yvorȳ[5] (ivory) < ivorie = CF ivoire < eboreum
: fetisly (neatly) < fetis < factīcius

The list given above contains numerous polysyllabic words, most of which were normally stressed on the initial

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[1] The voiced [*z*] shows that a change of suffixes has taken place, the [*z*] belonging regularly to [*-ize*] < *-itium*, whereas *-icium* gave [*-ise*].

[2] The [*s*] and the *-e* point to a learned loan. *Malice*, too, may be a later adoption, or it is due to the confusion of *-itia* and *-icia* in OF.

[3] NED and Skeat unnecessarily assume the starred form **nāvia*, which, moreover, should have given OF **nage*.

[4] See p. 86 note 3.

[5] This form is exceptional. A regular rime is 3, 946 *yvorie* : *memorie*.

syllable. Those words had in everyday speech ĭ. Now exception must be made for the words ending in *i*, *-ie*. The length of final ī is connected with the English tendency of lengthening final vowels (p. 75). There were two suffixes *-ie* in ME, which may be exemplified by *memorie* and *jalousie*, of which the first was perfectly unstressed and the second had a strong secondary stress. This was entirely regular with regard to the accentuation of the corresponding AF words. The stressless *-ie* had naturally a short vowel, or it might be called a consonantic glide, since Ch.'s metre never requires a syllabic value for this *i*. In *-ié*, again, length was likely to arise, evidently as a contrast to *-ie̯*. The lengthening is of the same type as that of a hiatus-vowel, although in the present case the stress was only secondary. When the loss of *-e* was completed[1], a shortening was made easier, but was not consistently carried through. Under conditions, which are difficult to determine, final *i* is still occasionally pronounced rather long (p. 75).

In a number of words of learned character the native tendency towards shortening may have been counter-acted by French influence, and in Ch.'s *poetry* this influence was predominant, so that in reading his verse we have to pronounce long vowels in *all* these rimes. The same phenomenon may be observed also for other unstressed vowels when occurring in rime.

2) *ible*

A 437* bible < bible < Gr. βιβλος
: digestible < digestible < dīgestibilis
D 688* ~ : impossible < impossible < impossibilis
D 1846* ~ : penyble < penible < *penibilis (< poena)

Of course the suffix *-ible*, as well as *-able*, was normally unstressed and had a short vowel. The artificial stress again caused an artificial lengthening. As to the explanation of this length, which is analogous to that of *-able*, see p. 34.

[1] That *-e* was beginning to fall in the normal pronunciation of polysyllables even in Ch.'s time will be made likely in a following chapter (Part III).

3) *ist*

B 2133* evangelist < evangeliste < evangelista (< Gr.)
: Crīst (Christ)

This single rime does not tell us much about the quantity of *i/st*. But the almost consistent lengthening of other consonants before *st* makes *ī a priori* most probable. The ModE [*ai*] in *Christ* points to ME *ī*, but it is not very likely that this word had *ī* even in OE, although Pogatscher, 90, makes such an assumption, referring to *ī* in L *Chrīstus*. As regards OE we have rather to assume sound-substitution — as in the case of *scōle* < L *schŏla* — and before *st* OE required *ĭ*. But we need not doubt that the French influence, which naturally was prevalent among the ME clergy, had refashioned the pronunciation of this word long before Ch.'s time, so his vowel was undoubtedly *ī*. — The French influence on the pronunciation of biblical names is seen also in *Jesus* (with *dʒ*), so it is only natural that *Crīst* should be exposed to the same influence.

(β) Polysyllabic type: *ī* in hiatus.

Since *i-* (as well as *u-*) was not subject to lengthening we do not expect to find an *ī* in other words than those of the monosyllabic type. We have already mentioned the stressed *ī* in hiatus (p. 31), as in F 43 *dīadem*, A 4392 *rīot*, etc. If *ī* did occur in other polysyllables, it was due to spelling-pron. It has been pointed out that the difference between long and short vowels was not marked, as it is to-day, also by a qualitative differentiation (*face—preface*, *vice—vicious*, etc.). When, for instance, an Englishman nowadays pronounces [*ai*] in *digest(ion)*, he wants to emphasize that the word contains the prefix *di-*, not *de-*. Of course such a precaution was superfluous in ME, where *dĭ* gave quite as accurate an idea of the spelling as *dī* could ever give.

Thus it cannot be taken for granted that Ch. had *ī* in I 682 *final*, D 1595 *libel*, D 855 *licence*, A 961 *tiraunt* (tyrant), and others, where ModE has [*ai*]. We have rather to assume that by the time *ī* ceased to be the name of the letter *i*, that is when *ī* was diphthongized, these learned

words were pronounced with a diphthong by educated people. Before that time — consequently also in Ch.'s language — these words had probably ĭ, according to the natural tendency of dissyllabic words (p. 94).

Special cases.

A 2178 *deduȳt* (pleasure) < deduit < *dēdūctum (L dēductus) : whȳt (white).

As a rule OF *üi* gave ME *iu*, in *fruit*, etc., where *i* is merely traditional. Here, therefore, we have an example of a word taken over later than the transition in the 12th c. of OF *üi* < *üí* (Schw. § 231), or, at any rate, an occasional use of the CF form[1]. The *ü* preceding the *i* may have been a consonantic *u̯*, or a vocalic *ŭ*, although not necessary for the metre.

A 1237 *dȳs* (dice) < *di(s), de, CF de < datum : paradȳs, sb. — See p. 88, parvys.

A 4385* ~ : prentȳs < apprentis < *apprentifs (< apprehēndo + īvus)

It is noteworthy that Ell. usually spells *dees*, thus using the regular form of early ME. For Ch. *ī* is ascertained, and the abscence of rimes with *ēs* makes *dees* at least doubtful.

As to the origin of the mysterious *i*, nothing positive can be said. By way of conjecture, one might, however, suggest the possibility of influence from *jeupardi*, due to a natural association between these two gambling terms. In AF *jeupardi*[2] might even have come to mean 'game with dice'.

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[1] In fact, Gower, in his AF Confess. (III 371), has the rime *deduit : fruit* (*ü*).

[2] In ME, especially Ch., we find an *-e* consistently added to the original *juparti*, perhaps due to *partie*. Thus we find for *Iuparti* (jeopardy), < *jocus partitus*, F 1496 *Iupartie : crie* (to cry).

B 4027 *phisīk*[1] < *phisic (= CF phisique) < physica (< Gr.)
: sīk (sick)
A 412 ~ : līk (like)

There can be no doubt that this rime should be pronounced with long vowels. Nevertheless Wild, 140, assumes ĭ in *sik*. Such a rime would be entirely out of keeping with the poet's habitual procedure of treating a riming syllable as a monosyllable, where an unchecked vowel became long. Remarkable is only ī in *sik*, which has been explained by Luick, Gr. § 282, as the result of the following development in some WS Patois sēoc > *sīec > sȳc > sīc. — The regular vowel occurs in A 18 *seke* : *seke* (to seek; sick).

E 2335 plīt (plight) < plit (Gower), for *pleit = CF ploit < *plicitus (< plicāre)
: appetȳt, sb.

This etymology, however, seems rather questionable. Instead, we have rather to do here with OE *pliht* in AF appearance, where the spirant would naturally drop. Like *truce* the word apparently had its place among the law terms of the French administration.

E 2011 *pȳketh* (to peep) < piquer (to prick, pierce) — Kört., pik-
: lȳketh (to like)
III 60 *pȳke* : sȳke (to sigh) : sȳke (sick), pl.

There existed, to be sure, an OE *pĭcian*, *pīcan* but the lack of instances between the 9th and the 14th c. make OF origin preferable. The long vowel, too, does not oppose such a view. On the other hand, ModE *pick* requires a short ME vowel, and for that form OE *pĭcian* may be assumed as a proper substrate, although a differentiation of *pīke* and *pĭcke*, based on difference in meaning, could be derived from the French loan-word itself, *pĭcke* being due to a later shortening.

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[1] The loss of *-e* is found also in F 218 *magyk* : *lyk*, whereas D 187 *praktike* : *like* (to like) represents a CentralF form.

D 2089 *squȳre* (squire) < escuier < scūtārius (< scūtum)
: Īre < ire < īra.

The vowel expected is ē̤. The *i* must be due to the preservation of *i* in *ie* in intervocalic position, or perhaps to CF influence, and a shifting of the stress from *ié* < *íe* in ME. — The regular form is found in A 79 *squyer*: bacheler which, indeed, is the normal spelling in Ell.

D 1331 *stȳves* (stews, brother) < estuve, to estuver < *extūbāre[1], for *extūfāre (< Gr. τῦφος)
: lȳves (lives)

The usual form of this word is *stue*, with *iu* (below). The forms with ī are exceedingly scarce, and they might possibly be ascribed to the influence of the native *sty* (a filthy hovel), found for instance in Milton's Comus 77. This word should be traced back to OE *stig* (or Scand. *stīa*), not AS *stigu*, given in the Cent. D. — Wild, 222, points to the OF doublets *ewe*, *eve* (< aqua) and suggests the same explanation for *styves*. But cp. p. 125.

B 2046 *trȳe* (tried, choice) < trié, to trier < *trītāre (< terere)
: spicerȳe (spices) < (e)spice (speciēs) + erie (See Hatzf.-D. § 63.)

We have here to do with another instance of stress-shifting, giving a stressed ī, instead of ē̤, in ME. Formally more attractive is the assumption that the word is identical with OF *trie* (choice), sb., but one would rather find a pa. p. than a noun used as an adjective. Cp., however, also *choice*, used as an adjective even in ME.

ī.

Sources:

1) *i* before a cons. group, including *dž*, *tʃ*, no matter what the number of syllables was. — On *-ible*, *-īst*, see pp. 89, 90.

The only rime seems to be

[1] The *b* is explained as due to *tubus* (used in the baths). See Kört. **extūfo*.

A 2812 divinistre (theologian) < divin < dīvīnus + istre [1] (for iste < ista)
: registre, sb. < registre < *registrum (L regestum).

Other words with ĭ [2]:

E 1713 instrument < instrument < instrūmentum
A 2524 minstralsye < ministralsie, to ministral (p. 57)
B 3839 prince < prince < princeps, -ipis
A 1235 victorie < victorie < victōria

2) *i* in open syllable of polysyllabic words. — There were probably no exceptions to this rule (cp. p. 90), with the exception of the hiatus-*i*.

A 2902 cítee (city) < cite < cīvitas, -ātis
B 1443 díner (dinner) < diner < *disjūnāre (< jējūno). See Kört., *disjūno.
A 3520 hídous (hideous) < hidous = CF hideus < hide (< hispidus) + eus < -ōsus (In ModE with altered suffix.)
C 452 lícour (liquor) < licour = CF liqour < liquor, -ōris
F 1561 phílosophre < philosophe < philosophus + re [3]
HF 717 prívee (secret) < prive < prīvātus
A 477 relígioun < religiun = CF religion < religio, ōnis
F 898 ríver < riviere < *rīpāria (< rīpa)
3, 765 tríbutary < tributaire < trībūtārius
D 1138 víleinye (villainy) < vilein < *villanus (< villa) + ie < īa
E 2045 [4] wíket (wicket-gate) < viquet (Moisy, *v* for *w*) = CF guischet (< Gic)
: clíket (latch) < AF < Pic. cliquet (See Kört., klinka.)

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[1] The *r* is supposed to come from words like *ministre*, where *r* was etymological.

[2] A 4361 *quit* : yit (yet) is the pa. p. of *quīte* (to requite) and has thus short vowel in the same way as analogous verbs of native origin: *hīd* — *hīde*, etc. It should be noted that the short vowel has been partly generalized: cp. ModE (*ac*)*quit* — *requite*. Ch. has still ī in the present tense D 1600 *acquīte* : līte, A 3863 *quīte* : līte.

[3] The suffix *-re* may have been added on the analogy of words like *ministre*.

[4] This is one of Ch.'s exceptional dissyllabic rimes. Elsewhere, G 1308 crosselet : set (p. 84), etc., *-ĕt* is sufficient for a rime.

o.

Spelling.

The long vowel, ǭ or ō, is in Ell. expressed by *o* or *oo*, the latter chiefly used in closed syllables and almost consistently before *st*. The short vowel is written *o*.

ǭ.

(α) Monosyllabic type.

Sources:

1) ǫ < *au*. For *poor*, see p. 98.

D 447 chǫse[1] (thing) < CF chose < causa
: rǫse (rose)

G 1369 cloos (close) < clos < clausus
: loos (praise) < los < laus, laudis — Cp. *laude* (p. 121)

B 4521 ~ : toos (toes)

F 165 clǫse, vb. < clos-, inf. clore < claudere
: glǫse (comment) < glose < glōsa

F 123 soore (to soar) < (es)sorer < *exaurāre (< aura)
: evermoore

D 2159 stoor, (store) < estor < staurum
: boor (boar) < OE bār

B 2128 suppǫse < supposer, to poser[2] < pausāre
: prǫse < prose < prosa

E 2032 ~ : nǫse

E 1270 tresoor < tresor < thēsaurus (< Gr.)
: hoor (hoar)

2) *o* in originally checked position. This *o* had become free — after the diphthongization of Folk-L *o* — through the simplification of a double consonant, or through the loss of a consonant. On ǭ/*tʃ*, see p. 45. For *fool*, see p. 98.

[1] This is only a nonce-form of the French word. — As to the native rime-words to these loans with ǭ, we have to observe that in closed syllable the native vowel is OE ā, in open syllable also OE *o*-, i. e. a complete adaptation of the OF ǭ to the native ǭ, no matter if OE ā and *o*- had coalesced or not in Ch.'s language. Cp. ē̆ (p. 72 Note 2).

[2] In OF *pausāre* had come to be confused with some forms (*posui*, *positum*) of *ponere* (NED).

A 1999 clǭke (cloak) < cloque = CF cloche < *clocca[1] (Celtic?, see M-L.)
: smǭke, sb.

A 328 cǭte (coat) < cote < Gic *kotta (cloth) = OHG chossa (Kört.)
: (by) rǭte[2] (by heart) < rote < Celtic rotta (fiddle)

B 4026 ~ : thrǭte (throat)

3, 376 mǭt (mote)[3] < mǫt < *mottum, beside mǫt < *muttum (< muttīre 'to murmur')
: hǭt (hot)

A 236 rǭte (fiddle) < rote < Celtic rotta (Kört.). Cp. A 328 (above).
: nǭte (note) < note < nota

3) ǫ in learned words, with a L ō or ŏ in open syllable.

I 45 glǭse < glose < glōsa (< Gr.)
: prǭse < prose < prōsa

G 808 vitriǭle < vitriole < vitreolus (< vitrum)
: cǭle (coal)

4) *oble*

A 60, 214 etc. nǫble < noble < nobilis

There are no rimes, but the parallel cases of *-āble*, *-īble* make a long vowel certain. The learned character of this word even in OF makes ǭ (not ō) undisputable in ME. ModE. too, points to ME ǭ.

5) *ǭst*

D 922 coost (coast) < coste[4] < costa
: moost (most)

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[1] This word has also given Engl. *clock*, but one cannot suppose that this word too came from French, as is done by Skeat. The loss of the gemination is a distinctively French trait, so *clock* must have got into ME in some other way. — The relation to OE *clucge* (clock) is obscure.

[2] Considering the etymological difficulties involved in a derivation from L *rupta*, which would give ME ū, I prefer to identify the word with the musical term in A 236, which is quite as easy to connect with the expression in question.

[3] NED *mote*[3] (a note of a horn or a bugle).

[4] The *-e* was dropped in AF. See p. 59 Note.

H 56 hoost (host) < hoste[1] < hospes, -itis
: goost (ghost)
F 696 : woost (knowest)
B 401 : boost (boast) < bost (Skeat) < Scand. bausta (to act with violence)
A 206 roost (roast) < rost(e), to rostir (F rôtir) < Gic *raustjan
: goost (ghost)

For this *ǭst*[2], cp. *āst, ēst, īst.*

(β) Trisyllabic types, with length due to an *i* in hiatus. See above, p. 32.

D 2190 ǭdious < odious < odiōsus

Special cases[3].

The following rime shows a parallel to the *-ăl — -āle(s)* referred to above (p. 56).

A 880 Amazǭnes < amasone (Godefr.) < amāsōn (< Gr.)
: nǭnes (nonce), to OE ān (one)

The next rime shows an artificial lengthening of unstressed *o* before a final single consonant of the type that is particularly common among riming proper names.

B 3169 exametrǭn (hexameter) < Gr. ἑξάμετρον
: oon 'one'
B 432 krǭne (crone) < MDu kronie (an old sheep)
: allǭne (alone) : everychǭne (everyone)

This word is generally derived from Picardian *carone* (F charogne), which is not acceptable as a direct source. It is true that *one* and compounds is not wholly conclusive as a rime-word, since we find it also in a number of rimes

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[1] The *-e* was dropped in AF. See Part III.

[2] A 214 *cŏst* : *pŏst* (pillar) contains, as the short vowel goes to prove, OE *pŏst*. The ModE vowel is due to confusion with *post* < *poste* (< posita), introduced in the 16th c.

[3] In these words French mediation is precluded, the vowel being *ō* or *ū* in OF words of this type (pp. 99, 104).

where ǭ is required[1]. In this case, however, the ModE pron. makes it sure that the rime was correct. — Cp. p. 99. — For further discussion, see Part III.

ọ̄.

We have seen that the unchecked OF *o* generally passed into ME ǭ, so that a ME ọ in French loanwords should, strictly speaking, not have existed at all. In fact, the instances that do occur are irregular and need a special explanation.

1) *fool, poore.*

B 4105 fool[2] < fol < follis (wind-bag)
: tool

I 635 fọ̄lis : scọ̄le is : tọ̄lis (tools)

D 1063 poore < povre < pauper
: oore (ore)

V 43 ~ : rọ̄re (upror) < OE *hrōre = OS hrōra, related to OE hrōr (stirring)

D 1936 ~ : foore (track, path) (OE fōr)

The exceptional ọ̄ in these words has been explained, apparently with good reason, as due to the adjacent labial consonants *f — l*, *p — v*.

The dropping of *v* before *r* is not phonetically necessary — cp. *cover* — nor is this a case of a vocalized *v* as in *hauk* < *heafoc*, since that would give ME *pour* with a diph-

[1] The ǭ : ọ̄-rimes in Ch. have been collected by E. Bowen, Engl. St. 20, 343. His list contains also a number of French words that he finds vacillating in their vocalic quality. These words may be reduced to a few proper names, where irregularity is not surprising. The rest have all ọ — *dispọ̄ne*, *persọ̄ne*, *trọ̄ne* (see p. 99) — and V 43 *pore* : *sore* D 1936 *pore* : *lore* read in reality *rọ̄re*, *fọ̄re* resp. (above). — Of the native vacillating words *dǭ* forms part of the majority of the irregular rimes. Perhaps the periphrastic use of this verb, in Ch. frequent in affirmative clauses, gave rise to a form *dŏ* (+ infin.) which after a new lengthening gave *dǭ*, a process that is undisputable for the genesis of [*ōu*] in ModE *dont*. (See Horn, Q. u. F., 98, 97). If the same interpretation is given for *tō*, the number of irregular rimes is almost negligible. As for *two*, mention should be made also of the occasional OE *tuō* (Sievers, § 324, Anm. 1).

[2] But A 3005 *fool* : *hool* (whole).

thong, so the loss of *v* in this word is in all probability due to its frequent use in unstressed position before a noun. To the same circumstance we may ascribe the *u*-vowel that must be seen in the form *poure*, which is the ordinary spelling in Ell. outside the rimes. If a third possibility *pŏvre* is indicated by Ell.'s occasional *pouere*, cannot be ascertained. If that form existed it must be considered either as a revival of the OF form, or as analogical from *poverty*. For Ch. only *poore* (ō) is undisputable.

2) ǫ = CF *ǫ̃/nasal + vowel.*

A 3700 cynamǭme (cinnamon) < cinnamome < cinnamōmum (< Gr.)
: tǭ me

V 300 dispǭne[1] < disponer < dispōnere
: dǭne (to do)

II 701, 1487 persǭne[2] (person) < persone < persōna
: dǭne (to do)

A 2528, F 275 trǭne[3] < trone < thronus (< Gr.)
: soone (soon)

ŏ.

Sources:

1) *o* before a cons. group, except *bl*, *st*, the number of syllables being immaterial. — For *ŏ/dz*, see p. 45.

B 1952 cofre (coffer) < cofre[4] < cophīnus (< Gr.)
: gylofre (gillyflower) < girofle, gilofre < caryophyllum (< Gr.)

[1] Cp. *dispǭse*. — A direct borrowing from Latin cannot be thought of, since the ME vowel would then have become ǭ, which was the alphabetical value of *o* (p. 49). In ME, as well as in OF, *dispone(r)* was rather rare.

[2] On *persoun* (parson) with *u*, see p. 104. Irregular is only D 1161 *persone* : *allone*, belonging to the exceptions formed by ǭ*ne* and compounds, see p. 97 (bottom).

[3] This word was learned in OF and ought to belong to the group giving ME ǭ (p. 96). It seems as though the analogy of ǫ̃/*n* in the other OF words was decisive for the ǭ in *trone*. That the word really came through French seems certain in view of the initial + *t* (not *th*) and the final *-e*, which would have been superfluous for a Latin loan. — ModE *throne* has spelling pron. for *th* and *o*, — An irregular rime in Ch. is, again, C 842 *trone* : *allone*. Cp. p. 97 (bottom).

[4] On *r* for *n* in *-ine(m)*, *-inu(m)*, see Schw. § 188 A.

A 297 : phílosóphre < philosophe < philosophus (< Gr.)

C 303 cors (corse) < cors < corpus
: fors (force) < force < *fortia (< fortis) — *-e* lost in AF.

I 526 port (haven) < port < portus
: comfort < confort, to conforter < confortāre

G 1122 profre (to proffer) < proffrer[1] = proffrir < pro+offerre
: philosophre, sb.

III 134 resort < res(s)ort, to resortir < re + *sortīre[2] (< sors, -rtis) — See M-L sortīre.
: comfort

A 4043 sort (sort) < sort < sors, -rtis
: desport (sport) < desport, to desporter < dis + portāre

II 1752 sort (lot, fate) is the same word in its original sense.
: comfort

Outside the rimes we find, for instance,

A 411 dóctour (doctor) < doctur = CF doctour < doctor, ōris

5, 65 tórment < torment < tormentum — AF had also *turment* with an irregular *u*, found also in F tourment)

In the last word *o* of course may mean *ŭ*, but it seems quite admissible to assume that the *ŏ* presupposed by ModE existed already. This *o* was a spelling-pron.

Here belong also a number of compounds with the prefix *cón-* (*com-*), which regularly developed gave *ŭ* ME (below), but in a number of chiefly literary words was replaced by *ŏ*, no doubt in conformity with ME school-pronunciation of Latin. Of course it is impossible to determine in each case if this pronunciation really prevailed in Ch.'s times, or if it is of a later date. The spelling gives no key to

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[1] It is of course possible to derive the ME verb from stem-stressed forms of *proffrir*. But Derocquigny, 112, has called attention to the fact that there existed also an AF *proffrer*. Considering the large expansion of the 1st conjug. in AF, this seems quite plausible.

[2] Kört. assumes **resur(c)tus* (L *resurrectus*): This would, however, have given a ME *u*, just as **sursa* (L *surrecta*) gave *source* with *u* in OF and ME.

the vowel in *con-*. In all probability ŏ was pronounced, however, in words like E 1129 *cóncord*, E 1047 *cónstant*, D 1306 *contract*.

2) *o* in open syllable of polysyllabic words, excepting the cases where length was due to special qualities of the following syllable (p. 97). For *odour*, see p. 28. *-orie* is given separately below.

F 1002 fólies (folly) < folie, < fol (p. 98) + ie < īa
E 1004 nóveltee [1] (novelty) < novelte (F nouveauté) < *novellitas (L novitas, -ātis)
D 1144 óffice (property) < office < officium
F 1017 órisonte [1] (horizon [2]) < horizonte < horīson, -ntis (< Gr.)
A 2261 órisoun (prayer) < orisun = CF oraison < orātio, -ōnis

3) *-orie*

C 161 consistorie < consistorie, -oire < consistōrium
: storie (story) < estorie, -oire < historia
A 2239 glorie (glory) < glorie, -oire < glōria
: victorie < victorie, -oire < victōria
B 3163 memorie < memorie, -oire < memoria
: storie (story)
III 827 ~ : transitorie < transitorie, -oire < transitōrius

A parallel development of *arie* (p. 67) and *orie* was *a priori* to be expected, and I do not hesitate to assume a short vowel as the natural ME pronunciation. The length in ModE *glory* is the result of a natural spelling-pron. [3] — The suffix *-orie* — like *-arie* — should, strictly speaking, not be dealt with among the stressed vowels, but used as rimes they got an artificial stress and may therefore be placed here.

[1] It is, however, not absolutely certain that the vowel was ŏ here, and only the ModE vowel makes this assumption possible. We expect *u*, since in OF a pretonic *o* in unchecked syllable gave *u* (Schw. §§ 91, 95). When *o* does occur, it is in words with originally double consonant, or in learned words.

[2] ModE *horizon* is refashioned on the Greek form.

[3] In church I have occasionally heard such a violent spell-pron. as [*glōuri*] which, certainly, is found also in certain dialects, especially Staffordshire (according to Dr G. E. Fuhrken, Gothenburg), but must be due, in Standard English, to a religious affectation.

u.

Spelling.

To express *ū* Ell. generally uses *ou*, in final position and in hiatus chiefly *ow*. The suffix *-ous* (< L -ōsus) incidentally occurs as *-us*, if the rime-word has *ŭs*.

The short vowel is regularly spelt *u*, except in the neighbourhood of *m*, *n*, *v*, occasionally also *r*, *s*. Frequently *o* is merely a traditional spelling preserving the Latin *o*, the chief source of OF *u*, which only from the 12th c. began to be rendered by *ou*, generalized from words like *escoute* < auscultare (M-L Gr. I § 25). The suffix *-oun* is sometimes changed to *-on* in accordance with the Latin and CF spelling.

ū.

(α) Monosyllabic type.

Sources:

1) *u*[1] = CF *ou* (later *eu*) < *o* in unchecked position.

G 865 avow (vow) < avou, to avouer < *advōtare (< vōtum)
: ynow (enough)

II 393 devoure[2] (to devour) < devorer < devorāre
: houre (hour) < houre < hōra

D 1856* dortour (dormitory) < dormitour, with suffix-change for dortoir < L dormitōrium
: hour

B 1653* flour < flour < flōs, ōris
: labour < labour < labor, -ōris

B 2091 : damour < de amour < amor, ōris (used here as a nonce-rime)

F 962* honour < honour < honor, ōris
: neighebour

A 4332* perilous[3] < perilous < perīculōsus
: hous

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[1] This seems to be a typical AF trait, although according to some French scholars (Nyrop, Gr. 1 § 183) a diphthong (*ou*) was not a stage in the development of *o* > *u* in CF, a process which is supposed to have been completed by 1200.

[2] The Latin vowel being *ŏ*, we cannot derive the ME vowel from the stem-stressed forms as is done in NED. We should then assume *devōro.

[3] For *-us*, see p. 107.

B 4140 prow (profit) < prou[1] < *prōdis, prōde, adj. (cp. prōdesse)
: now

2) *u* in originally checked position, made unchecked through the loss of a consonant or through the simplification of a geminate.

D 1559 croupe[2] < cro(u)pe < Gic *krupp- (OE cropp, ModE crop)
: stoupe[2] (to stoop)

D 1712 doute (doubt) < doute, to douter < dubitāre
: aboute (about)

D 977 ~ : oute (out)

A 2944 route < route < rupta (via)
: aboute (about)

III 1264 socouren (to succour) < socor-, inf. socorre < succurrere (F secourir)
: labouren

D 87 touche[3] (to touch) < CF tochier (ONF toquer) < Gic *tukkōn (G zucken) — See Kört.
: couche (couch) — See below, 3).

A 3931 ~ : pouche (pouch) < CF pouche[4] (poche) = ONF pouque (North. Engl. pook), poque

A 2027 tour (tower) < tour < turris
: honour

3) *u < ol/cons.* The *ū* was not shortened before *dr*, see pp. 34, 105.

H 243 cokkow (cuckoo) < cucu (F coucou) < *cucullus (L cucūlus)
: syngstow (singest thou)

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[1] As an earlier loan this word appears as *prūt*, *prūd* (proud).

[2] Both these words have remained monophthongal on account of the *p*.

[3] This vb. had its vowel shortened before the diphthongization of ME *ū*.

[4] I have only seen OF *poche* with *o* explained, for it seems impossible to derive *pouche*, *pouque* from Gic **pokko*, and OF *poche* would give ME *pǭche*, so that it seems justifiable to trace the *u*-forms back to a Gic **pukk*. Cp. OLG *pūkel*, OE *pung* with *u*.

D 88 couche, sb. < cu(l)che, to cu(l)chier < collocāre
: touche (to touch)
HF 535 foudre (thunderbolt) < foudre < fulgur
: poudre (powder) < poudre < pulvis, eris
III 1114 pous (pulse) < pou(l)s < pulsus
A 2154 stoute, pl. (bold, strong) < estont < stultus (M-L gives *extultus)
: route, sb.

4) *u* (= CF *o̧*) before a final *n*, or *n*/single consonant.

B 362 confounde (to destroy) < confonder < confundere
: ybounde (bound) pa. p.
B 3938 expounde (to explain) < espondre < expōnere
: abounde (to abound) < abonder < abundāre
D 2293 gowne[1] (gown) < go(u)ne (F gonne 'barrel, keg') < Celtic gw̃n (Kört.)
: towne (town)
D 2007 person[2] (parson) < persun = OF persone < persōna
: destruccion < destruction < dēstructio, -ōnis
G 1299 pronounce (to pronounce) < prononcer < prōnuntiāre
: ounce < unce, once < *uncia (L ūncia)
D 974 soun (sound) < son < sonus (This appears only rarely as *suen* in OF)
: doun (down)
B 3348 sowne (to sound) < son-, inf. soner < sonāre
: expowne (to explain), a doublet to expounde (above), pres. stem espon-, inf. espondre
A 565 ~ : towne (town)
B 3589 viscounte < vi(s)conte < vice + comes, -itis
: acounte < acunter < ad + computāre

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[1] This is a remarkable case. But in ME, and probably also in Ch., the form without *-e* seems to have been the normal type, and it is very likely that in AF where the final *-e* disappeared rather early there existed doublets: *gone—goun*, of which the latter was made parallel with *soun*, etc. with final *un*. Cp. Note 2.

[2] This word presupposes some adaptation in AF to the common final *-un*, after the loss of the etymological *-e*. That such a change must have taken place becomes evident on a comparison with *persone* (p. 99) with preserved *-e*, and *o̧*.

5) *u* before a *muta cum liquida.*

A 262 double < double < duplus

HF 535 foudre : poudre (powder) — See p. 104.

B 3692 sowple (supple) < suple < supplex, -icis [1]

E 465 trouble (dull, turbid) < trouble < *turbulus (L turbidus)

As to *ouble*, cp. *āble*, *īble*, *ōble*. — A diphthongization of *ū/labial* could not take place, so the shortening need not have occurred before the vowel-shift.

6) *u/r* + a single consonant.

H 81 bourde (jest) : gourde (gourd) — See p. 39.

E 50 cours (course) < cours < cursus
: sours [2] (source) < sors, sorse < *sursa (for surrecta < surgere)

A 140 court < co(u)rt < cōrs, -tis < cohors

C 340 destourbe [3] (to disturb) < destorber < disturbāre

II 1352 recours (recourse) < recours < recursus
: socours [4] (succour) < sucurs < *succursus (< L succurrere)

III 1483 retourne : sojourne — See p. 40.

D 1938 sours (source) : auditours, pl. < auditour < audītor, -ōris

When the length was preserved we find in NE a transition *ūr* > *ōr*, which Pogatscher, Angl. 31, 264, referring to Danish *kaas* (1524, in Falk-Torp), and Swedish *kosa*, borrowed from English *course*, places at a period not later than 1500.

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[1] The disappearance of L *-icem* is parallel to cases like *pale* < *pallidus*, *image* < *imaginem*, *prince* < *principem*. See Schw. § 76 A.

[2] The apocopation in *sorse* took place in AF, so it is not necessary to assume different origins (**sursus*, **sursa*) for *sors*, *sorse*.

[3] Cp., however, A 906 *perturbe*, which elsewhere, IV 561, occurs as *pertourbe*. When Ell. writes *ou* in one word, *u* in the other, we may conclude that by that time an etymological spelling had already set in, which perhaps immediately gave rise to a competition between *ū* and *ŭ* in these words. Eventually *ŭ* conquered, as we find from the ModE pronunciation.

[4] By way of back-formation there had also arisen a sg. *socour* : dishonour (F 1357), as though *socours* had been a plural.

(β) Polysyllabic type.

1) *u* in hiatus.

B 3100 cóward < couard < coue (< cauda) + ard < Gic -hard

E 807 dówer < douair < *dōtārium (< dōs)

A 218 pówer < poer < *potēre (L posse)

B 3943 tówayle (towel) < to(u)aille < Gic *þwahlja (MHG twähele)

2) *u* (= CF õ) before *n/single cons.*

E 415 bóuntee (goodness) bontee < bonitās

A 784 cóunseil[1] (counsel, advice) < conseil < consilium

G 1264 cóuntenance[1] (appearance) < contenance < continentia

A 139 cóuntrefete (to counterfeit) < contrefeit < contrā + factus

D 1887 móuntain < montaigne < *montānea (< mons)

A 1570 móuntance (amount) < montance, to monter < *montāre (< mons)

A 390 róuncy (hackney, nag) < ronci (F roussin), of uncertain origin.

The *ū/n + cons.* in polysyllabic as well as monosyllabic words, must have been the result of an attempt to reproduce the French nasal as accurately as possible.

For *u*, as little as for *i*, do we find any lengthening in an open syllable of polysyllabic words followed by the specific type of syllable referred to above (pp. 28, 32).

Special cases.

A 89 *embrouded* (embroidered) < broder, bruder (F broder) < Gic *bord- apparently had its *ū* from the end-stressed forms, while the ModFrench form with *o* represents the stem-stressed types.

B 4590 *howped* (to whoop) < houper, to OF houp! (NED hoop) : powped (to blow, puff)

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[1] It should be observed, however, that Ell. not infrequently writes simply *con-*, in accordance with the Latin and CF orthography. If, or to what extent, this resulted in a spelling-pronunciation is hard to determine. The ModE word requires ME *ū*. Cp. above, p. 100.

This verb is simply an onomatopœic formation on the OF interjection. It is conceivable that in such a word the *p* was originally geminated, so that we may have to do with an instance of a simplified double cons. (p. 103). A diphthongization of *ū/p* could not take place, anyhow.

-ous (L -ōsus).

The remarkable thing about this suffix is that, unlike others of its type — *-oun*, *-our*, etc. — it rimes with short as well as long vowels. In the majority of cases we find it riming with native *-ūs*, in the CT 23 *-ous* : *hous* : *mous*, but we also come across these exceptional rimes:

D 148 *precius* : us (us) II 759 *religious* : thus
D 2048 *vicius* : thus

The short vowel unquestionably represented the actual pronunciation, and these few rimes are, strictly speaking, more correct than those with a long vowel, which was due to tradition and French influence. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether in these rimes the vowel was intended to be short. Considering the poet's consistency in the use of length in a riming syllable with normally unstressed vowel, one is rather inclined to believe that in his own reading he would have given an artificial length even to *thus* and *us*, which, like *was* (p. 60), were normally unaccented, and of which the latter had an original length (OE *ūs*) which might have survived in dignified pronunciation (church, etc.) — Of course it is rather unimportant whether in poetry *-ous* was read *-ūs* or *-ŭs* in the rimes. The fact remains that the natural speech had *-ŭs* < as well as *-ŭn*, *-ŭr*, etc.

A 2012 *óutrage* < outrage < *ultrāticum (< ultra)

Here the long vowel must be due to an early association with *out*.

Remarkable is *ū* corresponding to an OF *ui* in I 418 *pounsoning* (Ell. powsonynge), in ModE 'to pounce', and E 356 *frownyng* (to frown). For the former word we find ev$_{e}$n in AF *poncon* (Moisy).

Doubtful is the quantity of B 1871, D 497 *tombe* in view of the *ou* in F 518 *toumbe*, the latter being probably the regular form of the word. A diphthongization of *ū/m* could not take place, and the spelling *tombe* was only traditional.

ŭ.

Sources:

1) *u* before a cons. group. Excepted are *n/single cons.* and, in monosyllables, also *r/single cons.* — For *ū/n*, *ū/r + cons.*, see above. — The occasional *ou* is a traditional spelling.

A 4165 búrdoun (burden, bass-accompaniment) < bordon (F bourdon) < MedL burdo (drone)

G 32 cómfort < confort, to conforter < confortāre

LGW 852 cónduit[1] < conduit < *condūctus (< L conductus)

D 1249 cúrtin (curtain) < cortin(e), CF cortine < cortīna (< cōrs)

D 682 cústume (custom) < custume < *consuetūmen (L consuetūdo)

A 508 encombre (encumber) < encomber, to combre < *combrus (Celtic) — See M-L

A 202 fórneys (furnace) < fornais[2] < fornax, -ācis

A 2738 Ióurnee (day's march) < journee < *diurnāta (< diurnus)

A 716 nombre (number) < nombre < numerus

B 170 púrpos (purpose) < purpos (F propos), to purposer[3] < prō + pausāre

E 1157 scourge < escurge (F écourgée), to escurger < *excoriāre (< corium)

A 543 sómnour (summoner) < somonur, to somondre < submonēre

E 698 stúrdy (harsh, hard) < estourdi (F étourdir) < *exturdīre (< turdus 'thrush') — See Kört.

Before *r/cons.* in polysyllables Ell. shows some vacillation between *ou*, *o*, and *u*.

[1] ModE has [ɔ] and [ɔ] in this word. Both *may* be based on ME doublets, but it is naturally impossible to ascertain, in such case, the proportions of the regular *ŭ* and the spelling-pronounced *ŏ* (See p. 48).

[2] The OF vowel should have *ǫ*, but *u* is explained on the analogy of *four* < *furnus* (Hatzf.-D.).

[3] In Engl. the vb. was derived from the noun, as is evident from the voiceless [s].

2) *u* in open syllable of polysyllabic words.

B 4324 bóteler[1] (butler) < buteiller < *butticulārius, to *butticula (F bouteille, E bottle), of unknown origin (Kört.).

F 724 cólour < colour < color, ōris

B 2045 cómyn (cummin) < comin < cumīnum (Cp. p. 000, Note 1)

5, 193 cónyes[2] (rabbits, conies) < conis pl. of conil < cunīculus

A 1131 cósin (cousin) < cousin < consobrīnus

A 3884 cóveityse (covetousness) < coveitise < cupiditia

A 578 dóseyn (dozen) < dosaine < *dōdicēna (L duōdecim)

B 421 sódein (sudden) < sodain < *subitānus (L subitāneus)

A 1054 sótil (subtle) < sotil (F subtil) < subtīlis. Cp. C 141 subtil (p. 110)

A 1909 tóuret[3] (turret) < tourete < tour < turris + -et < L -itta

3) *ü/cons. group*, inclusive *-i̯e.*

It has not been shown conclusively that OF *ü* was represented by a ME *ü*, and yet that is a widely accepted view. In view of the NE development of this sound, it seems even *a priori* impossible to place the differentiation between words like *study — student*, *humble — human*, etc., in any other period than the ME, where OF *ü* was rendered differently in different positions. It is difficult to realize (1) why a ME *ū̆* should change into *iu*, and (2) why a ME *ŭ̄* should have given partly *ŭ* and partly *iu*, as in *just — utility*, since it cannot very well be assumed that the pretonic *ü*, if such was the vowel, should have been long. The fact is that the distribution of *iu* and *u* in ME was dependent, not on the stress conditions, but on the syllable being unchecked or checked. In an unchecked syllable we find either *iū̆* or *iŭ* according to the rules applicable for the vowels, for, as a matter of fact, a distinction must be made between the quantities of *suit — suitable*, and here, as

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[1] Trisyllabic.

[2] *Cony* is thus a back-formation. ModE has [ɒ], and since the 19th c. also [ōu] by spell-pron. (NED).

[3] *ou* from *tour*. ModE *turret* is refashioned after L *turris*. In Ch. *-et* represents OF *-ette*, as well as *-et*. The coalescence is likely to have originated in AF.

in the case of the vowels, the difference must be traced back to ME; in an unchecked syllable we find consistently *ŭ* (p. 33).

We are here concerned only with *ŭ*[1] as the equivalent of OF *ü* in checked syllable. It is not quite a matter of course that an OF *ü* in checked syllable should be rendered by ME *ŭ*, and we should rather have expected to find the *ü* represented by *iŭ* all through. It is not too bold to conjecture that the AF *ü* had a different quantity in checked and unchecked position; it seems even as though the checked *ü* had got very much the same value as *ŭ*, judging by a number of abnormal AF (Moisy) spellings with *o* for *ü*. The same remark is applicable also for the occasional *ui* for *iu* (< *ü*) discussed below (p. 131). But attempting to articulate the unchecked *ü*, the ME speaker found no better way of doing justice to its front character than to begin with an *i*. Two successive vowels were necessary to render the OF unchecked *ü*.

I 326 borneth[2] (to burnish) < burnir, brunir < Gic *brunjan (cp. brown)
: torneth : sojorneth — See p. 40

B 4430 bulte (to bolt, sift) < buleter (F bluter) — (Orrm: *bulltedd*)

I 124 humble < hümble, hümele < humilis (OF ü shows learned origin)

D 2090 Iust < just (CF juste) < jūstus

C 374 múltiplying < multiplier < multiplicāre (Learned word in OF)

F 1214 stúdie (study) < estudie < studia

E 482 súbget (subject) < subjet < subjectum

C 141 súbtil[3] (subtle) < subtil < subtīlis

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[1] For *iu*, see p. 123 ff.

[2] This rime would not be possible if the first rime-word had *ü*, which is contradicted also by the spelling.

[3] Cp. A 1054 *sótil* < *sutil*. We thus find the popular as well as the learned forms of this word (Schw. § 95 A) transmitted into ME. — Of course the prep. *sub* in A 489 *substaunce*, etc. had regular *ŭ*, although French *substance*, etc. dating back to the 12th c., has now *ü* by spelling-pron

F 1114 súrgerye < CF cirurgerie, cirurgie (< Gr.) — The curious contraction is traced even in French: surgiiens, sururgien (Gadefr., suppl.).

6, 31 súrname < sür (*ü* from analogy of *sus*), for sor < suprā + name (One might also think of *so(u)r* as a source.)

As we may conclude from *stŭdie* the combination of a *cons./ie* had the same effect upon the preceding *ü* as a cons. group. That does not necessarily mean that the *i* was consonantic in ME (cp. p. 32). If it were, we should expect a development like *studie* > **studje* > **studze* > [**stʊdz*].

4) *urie*

Being similar to *studie*, and also to *-arie*, *-erie*, *-orie*, the group *-urie* may also be given *ŭ* in spite of the ModE [*jə*]. This ending occurs only in learned words, and the [*iŭ*] may have entered as a spelling-pronunciation. — Cp. *-orie*.

A 1385 Mercurie (Mercury) < Mercurie < Mercūrius : murie[1] (merry)

G 774 mercurie (mercury) : porfurie (porphyry) = *porfirie (CF porfire) < porphyrius (< Gr.)

The Chaucerian form of the last word (with *u* for *i*) points to Greek influence, as far as the vowel is concerned. But this very *u* (< Gr. ʊ) followed the same development as if it had come from French, that is, it became in this case — before *ri̯* — ME *ŭ*.

Special cases.

HF 1348 *dŭcat* cannot be taken from French, where it is not recorded before 1389 (Hatzf.-D.) and which, moreover, would have been reflected by a ME *iu*. The French

[1] The normal form in Ch. is *mĕrye* (A 207 : berye 'berry', etc). This rime-form did not belong to Ch.'s own language, so this rime cannot serve as a criterion. *Murie* was simply a loan from an y-dialect, and in this nonce-rime the more refined pronunciation *y* seems undeniable (see p. 34). Another possibility is that *murie* was pronounced with *ŭ* as in the French words. Wright (EDD) really has [*mʊrri*] for several southern dialects, but of course it cannot be taken for granted that Ch.'s *murie* was taken from a substrate of these forms.

and the English word must have been taken over independently from the Italian *ducato*[1] (< L *ducātus* 'duchy'), the vowel being pronounced with spelling-pron.: *ü*, *ŭ* in the resp. languages.

A 96 *Iuste* (to just, joust) < *juster*, *joster*, < **jŭxtare* (< juxta)

The quantity of the *u* of L *juxtā* is doubtful (see Walde, Et. Wb.). It is also doubtful whether, beside the OF *ŭ*, which is presupposed by ModF *jouter*, there existed a form with *ü*. The OF spelling *juster* may mean *u* or *ü*. From the ME point of view, however, the *ü*-form is at least the more desirable. The ME spelling points to *ŭ*, the ModE alternative *joust* being later and probably refashioned after French. An OF *u/st* would have given ME *ūst*, as we find for instance in ModE *oust* (< ouster, F oster < obstāre?), whereas *ŭ* is the regular result of an OF checked *ü*. It seems, therefore, possible that OF had *ü* beside *u* in this word.

D 2100 *muscle*[2] (mussel), despite the scarcity of OE *muscle*, cannot very well be from OF, where the usual form was *mousle* (F moule) < *mūsculus* (< *mūs*).

A 657 *ypunysshed* had no doubt *ŭ*. It seems as though the ending *ish*, sometimes reduced to *sh*, always caused a short vowel in the preceding syllable.

E 339 *astoned* (astonished) : woned (wonted) cannot be derived from OF *estoner* (see NED), which would have given a ME *ū*, and may, in fact, be reflected in occasional spellings with *ou* (likewise in ModE *astound*); but here the short vowel points rather to OE *stŭnian*, to which *a-* could be prefixed merely for the sake of emphasis, as was often the case.

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[1] The first ducat was coined in Venice in 1284.

[2] This *muscle* is not '*Muskel*', as Remus (p. 142) takes it.

Diphthongs.

With the invasion of French loan-words ME had to introduce, amongst other things, three new diphthongs: *iu*, *oi*, *ui*. Of these the last two are now combined in [*ɔi*] in Standard English, while many dialects show a development of ME *ui* parallel to that of ME *ŭ*. The disappearance of ME *ui* may to some extent have been due to the influence of orthography, *oi*, *oy* being used almost consistently to express *ui*, just as *ŭ* was represented by *o* before *m*, *n*, etc. (p. 102). Nevertheless, it seems natural to see also a phonetical process behind this transformation. It is a well-known fact that the last element of these diphthongs — as well as in *ai* — gradually weakened to a rather obscure glide, in the case of *ai* probably disappearing completely. Now this glide was in all probability weakening from *i* to *e*, at the same time as the first element lengthened more and more. A combination **vues* (voice), however, would have broken the 'vocalic harmony', and with *e* as a glide the first element must have become *o*, and [*vɔes*] is, in fact, a fairly accurate transcription of the ModE pronunciation. The change thus consisted in a gradual lowering of both elements of the diphthong. It is difficult to fix any periods for the different stages of this process. The tendency was probably as old as these loans themselves, but we can hardly assume that that *oi* < *ui* was reached by Ch.'s time. There is an interesting resemblance between the development of these *ui*, *oi* and that of ME *ęu*, *ęu*, since in both cases the last element modified the first, *e* giving a lowered, *u* a raised, first element.

ai.

Spelling.

In Ell. we find chiefly *ay*, *ey*, seldom *ai*, *ei*. In most cases, although by no means consistently carried through, the *a* and *e* represent the traditional etymological spelling which had been continued even after *ei* and *ai* had been levelled under *ai*.

Sources:

1) *ai*, finally or before *-e*, < *a* + (*epenthetic*) *i*.

B 1487 abbeye[1] (abbey) < abai(e) < *abbātīa (L abbātia)
: pleye (to play)

B 1812 abbay : alway (always)
: lay (pret. of OE licgan)

E 2391 apayd (satisfied) < apayer < ad + pācāre
: missayd (said amiss)

A 2267 delay, sb., to delaye < delaier < de + laier < *lagjan (to lay) — See Kört.
: day

F 948 layes (songs) < lai, probably of Gic origin (cp. OE lāc)
: virelayes < virelai < virer (to turn) + lai (above)

2) *-eie* = CF *-ée* < *-āta*

This ending occurs only in a few words, since as a rule we find the normal *-ee* (*ē*) instead of the diphthong, which originally was developed in some Western ONF dialects, according to an assumption by Vising (Jahresbericht d. Roman. Phil. 1909, I 218).

It seems reasonable to see in the insertion of this *i* a phonetically intelligible substitution of *i* for *ð* at the stage when the spirant had reached its weakest articulation and a hiatus was near at hand. To avoid this the *i* presented itself as the most convenient substitute. Cp. Zachr., AN Infl., 101 ff.

[1] Here preceded by the prep. *to*, which accounts for *-e*, the normal form in Ch. being *abbay*, as in the next rimes. — The suffix *-ātia* would of course have given *-ăce* (cp. abbacy). The French (abbaye) as well as the English form point to an early change of suffixes (*ĭa* for *ĭa*).

III 1141 chimeneye (chimney) = CF cheminee < *caminăta < camīnus (< Gr.)
: tweye

E 784 Iourneye (day's work) = CF journee < *diurnăta (< diurnus)
: weye

HF 1918 valeye (valley) = CF valee < *vallăta (< valles)
: seye (to say)

Even in II 820 aleyes (: weyes 'ways') = CF alee, a verbal noun formed from *al(l)er*, we have evidently to do with the same suffix.

3) *ai*, before a nasal or lateral[1], < *a* + *epenthetic i*.

In CF, too, we find *ai/r*, but *a/ñ*, *l̃*, while in AF *ñ*, *l̃* had been resolved into *in*, *il*.

3, 340 air < air < āēr
: fair, adj.

B 3953 assaille (to assail) < assaillir < *assălio (< salīre)
: availle (to avail) < *availle < CF vaill-, inf. valeir < valēre
: bataille (battle) < bataille < *battālia (< battere)
: faille (to fail) < faillir < *fallio, -īre (L fallere)
: biwaille (to bewail) < bi + Scand. *veila, to vei (woe). Cp. Björkm., 51, 52.

A 1224 bareyne (barren) < baraigne < *barānea (< bāro)
See Kört. and Walde, Et. Wb., bāro.
: atteyne (to attain) — See p. 76 Note 3, and p. 117.

E 850 dowaire[2] (dower) < douaire < *dōtārium (< dōs), *-aire* for *-ier* being a learned suffix.
: faire, adj. pl. (fair)

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[1] It has been shown above (pp. 71, 74) that before other consonants *ai* had become monophthongized, giving ME *ę̄*.

[2] Beside *-aire* we have found *-ę̄r* (p. 76), *-arie* (p. 67) as equivalents of L *-ārius*. In E 807 Ell. has indeed *dówer*, which cannot be proved for Ch., and was due to a suffix-change rather than to a weakening of *air* > *er*. Cp. C 20 *vícaire* — D 2008 *víker* (vicar).

G 132 haire (hair-shirt) < haire < Gic *hārja (> OHG harra)
: faire (fairly)

5, 179 pleyne (to complain) < plain-, inf. plaindre < plangere
: carayne (carrion) < *caraine = caroigne (F charogne)
< *carōnia (< cāro) — The AF form points to a suffix-change.

E 1204 quaille (quail) < quaille (F caille) < Gic, OHG quahtela (Kluge), beside wahtala
: aventaille (ventail, air-hole) < aventaille = CF esventail < *exventāculum (< ventus)

C 949 seint (saint) < saint < sanctus
: depeint (depicted) (p. 118)

A 570 vitaille (victuals) < vitaille < victuālia (< vīvo)
: taille (to tally) < taillier < *tāliare (< tālea 'rod, twig')

4) *ai* < *a* + *nasal*

D 1488 certayn (certain) < certain < *certānus (< certus)
: agayn (again)

D 1132 clayme (to claim) < claim-, inf. clamer < clāmāre
: mayme[1] (to maim) < mayner, mahaignier < ?

F 699 frankeleyn (franklin) < fraunkelayn < *frankalānus (< Franko 'a free man') see NED.
: desdeyn (disdain) < desdein, to desdegnier < dis + dignāre

C 374 grayn (grain) < grain < grānum
: mitayn (mittain) < mitaine < mite (< Gic *mit-, OLG mite) + aine < āna (Hatzf.-D.)

B 3944 pleyn (plain) < plain < plānus
: seyn (to say)

G 591 soverayn (soverain) < soverain *superānus (< super)
: fayn (fain)

F 971 vayn (vain) < vain < vānus
: agayn (again)

5) *ei* = CF *ei*, *oi* < *ę* (< *ē*, *ĭ*). — Before a nasal CF *ẽi* did not pass to *oi*.

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[1] The final *m* for *n* is due the assimilatory influence of the initial *m*.

B 3272 affray (fray, fright) < affrei = CF esfrei, to effreier[1] < ex + Gic *fridu (peace)
: array < arrei < ad + Gic *rēdan (OE ȝerǣde)
: lay (pret. of OE licgan)

E 784 fey (faith) < fei (F foi) < fides
: hey (hay)

A 4358 feith (faith), a doublet to *fey* (above), but of earlier adoption
: seith (says)

B 1527 moneye (money) < monneie[2] < monēta
: pleye (to play)

D 1375[3] pray(e) (prey) < preie = CF proie < præda
: (on a) day(e)

E 191 purveye (to provide) < purveier = CF pourvoir < prōvidēre
: leye (to lay)

G 274 receyve[4] (to receive) < receiv-, inf. receveir = CF reçoiv-, recevoir < recipere
: weyve (to waive) < waiver (in Britton, I 50) = CF gaiver (< Gic)

A 695 veyl (veil) < veil = CF voil(e) < vēlum
: seyl (sail)

G 1241 veyne (vein) < veine < vēna
: teyne (a thin plate of metal) < Scand. tein-n (twig) = OE tān (NED[5])

6) *ei* = CF *ei*, *oi* < *ẹ* + *epenthetic i*. — Before a nasal CF *ẽi* was preserved. AF *ei/l* corresponds to CF *e/l̃*.

[1] The regular French form was *effroyer*, but *effrayer* has been taken up from dialects with *ei* preserved. (Schw. § 225 A).

[2] For ModF *monnaie*, cp. Note 1.

[3] That *-e* should be added is proved by D 1455 *preye* (prey): sey ye (say you).

[4] While ModE has preserved the diphtongal ME vowel in its spelling, its phonetical basis is ME *ẹ̃*, corresponding to the end-stressed OF forms. It is also possible that the later ME remodelled the verb after CF, or after AF, where *ei* was monophthongized in the 14th c.

[5] Skeat (Gloss.) gives L *tænia* + Gr. ταινία, which with the lack of OF instances seems less attractive. On the other hand the *-e* does not agree with the Scand. origin. — Björkm. does not give the word.

1, 153 appareil(e) (apparel) < appareil, to apereiller < ad + *pariculus (< par)
: counseil(e) < conseil < consilium.

B 3774 attayne (to attain) < atein-, inf. ateindre < attingere
: payne (pain) < peine < poena
: restrayne (to restrain) < restrein-, inf. -eindre < restringere

A 369 deis (dais) < deis[1] < discus
: burgeys (burgess) < burgeis (F bourgeois) < Gic burg + L -ensis

B 3855 demeyne (dominion) < demeine < dominium. For *de-*, see Schw. § 11 A.
: compleyne (to complein)

C 949 depeint (depicted) < depein-, eindre < dēpingere
: seint (saint)

A 3423 merveyle (marvel) < merveille < mīrabilia
: eyle (to ail) < OE eglan

B 3666 obeye (to obey) < obeir < obēdire (half-learned in OF)
: pleye (to play)

E 643 outraye (to be outrageous) < utraier < *ultricāre (< ultra)
: preye (to pray) — See below.

A 301 scoleye (to attend school) < *escoleier < escole + -eier = CF oyer < -icāre
: preye (to pray)

B 3522 werreye (to make war) < werreier (F guerroier) < werre + -eier < -icāre
: pleye (to play)

7) *ei* = CF *ei*, *oi* < *pretonic* ę + *epenthetic* *i*[2].

B 2156 preye (to pray) < preiier < *precāre (L precāri)
: seye (to say)

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[1] ModF *dais*, for earlier *dois*, is from Picard. — For HF 1360 *dees* : *prees* (crowd) we have to assume the occasional use of the French pronunciation, by that time monophthongal.

[2] Which in stressed syllable gave *i*.

D 706 preysed (praised) < preisier < pretiāre
: reysed (raised)
G 268 reneye (to deny) < reneiier < renegāre
: seye (to say)

Specical cases.

What was Ch.'s equivalent of ModE *company*? Ell. writes B 4183 *compaignye*, but usually, B 134, etc., *companye*, where *a* for *ai* was possibly due to dissimilation. On the other hand, Ell. has only *ai* in B 1194, etc. *compaignable*, where no *i* was found in the next syllable.

D 2101 *eyse* (ease) < aise < adjacens (Thomas, Rom. XXI, 506). See Kört.
: reyse (to raise)
III 1406 ~ : countrepeise (to counterpoise) < contrepeis, inf. -peser < contre + pē(n)sare

We have seen that the normal form was *ę̄se* (p. 71), the rule being that OF *ai* is represented by a monophthong in Ch.[1], whereas OF *ei*, later *oi* in CF, was preserved. A side-form with [*aį*] is, however, undisputable, although apparently used only as a shiftmake in need of rime. The diphthong is explained by Slettengren, Engl. St. 49, 13, as connected with the early adoption (1225) of the word, which was prior to the AF monophthongization of *ai*. To this explanation it may be objected (1) that other words, for instance *pces* (peace) *rę̄son* (reason), adopted equally early, do not know of any diphthong, and (2) that there is no instance of a monophthongization of *ai* > *ę̄* taking place in ME. Nor do we find any general remoulding of the diphthongal words into monophthongal as a result of the influence of the French forms monophthongized after the period of their adoption into ME, so that it is hardly admissible to assume that an original diphthong in *aise*

[1] Except before a nasal or liquid (p. 115).

should be superseded by the monophthong that in the meantime had developed in AF.

It is difficult to see in this occasional *eyse* anything more than a mere eye-rime, with the French spelling borrowed simply to make a rime. The great influence of French poetry might be responsible for loans of that kind. Cp. the opposite process with *dees* (dais), p. 118 Note 1.

-eys < *-eis* (= CF -ois) < *-iscus*, *-ensis* seems to have had an influence reaching far beyond its original domain. At least in AF[1] do we meet with cases of an original *-ais* yielding to an *-eis*, which alone can account for the preserved diphtong in ME. Thus we find in Ch.

A 560 *forneys* (furnace) < forneis = CF fornaise[2] < fornācem
: goliardeys 'buffon' (= CF goliardois) < goliard (to gole < gula) + eis

E 1711 *paleys* (palace) < paleis = CF palais < palātium
: deys (dais) — See p. 118.

G 1366 *receit* (receipt, recipe) < receit(e) = CF receite[3], to receiv- < recipere
: *deceit* < deceit(e) = CF deceit(e) to deceiv-, < dēcipere

The diphthong here is due to analogical influence of the stem-stressed forms of the OF vb. For the ModE form the influence of the verb (p. 117) is evident.

A 4083 *reyne* (rein) < reine = CF resne (F rêne) < *retina (L retināculum), to retinēre
: peyne (pein)

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[1] In CF we find the reverse influence in *harnais*, OF harneis with *-eis* < *-iscus*.

[2] The regular form would also have given a ME voiced *z*.

[3] In French *récette* we have the regular equivalent of the pa. p. *recepta*.

The origin of the AF *ei* in this word is somewhat exceptional. It is a recognised fact that in some Eastern OF dialects *isn* could develop to *iñ*, spelt *ign*, which accounts for the use of spellings *sn* for *gn* even in other cases. In this case, however, we have not to do with *isn*, but *esn*, so this word does not exactly fall in line with that group.

The OF *resne* is interpreted by Stimming[1] as the result of a process **retina* > **reðne* > *resne* with *ð/n* > *z/n*. However that may be, the second stage seems certain, and while a transition of *resne* to *reine* must be rejected, there is more of a probability for that of **reðne* < *reine*, in the same way as we have found *āta* > **aðe* > *eie* (p. 114) in some Northern dialects.

A similar difficulty is found in

A 1258 *meynee* < meyne, mesnie < *mansionāta (< L mansio)

Most likely the *i*, however, was here the original epenthetic *i*.

A 2139 *trays* (traces) < traits, sg. trait < tractus (< traho) : harnays < harneis = CF harnois < Celtic harn 'iron' (Kört.) + -eis < -iscus

The ME diphthong in this word is remarkable. Possibly the OF forms of the related vb. *traire* were influential on the noun, and we have seen that *ai/r* was not monophthongized by the time the French words began to come in.

IV 438 *trayse* (to betray) < trais-, inf. trair < *trādīre (L trādere)

A 1130 *traytour* (traitor) < traitour < trāditor, -ōris (*traitre*[2] from the nominative) preserved the diphthong.

The explanation is the same as for ModFrench *traïr*, namely the fact that there never was a diphthong in this verb. — For *trę̣son*, see p. 74.

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[1] ZRPh. 35, 95. According to Schwan (§ 120 A), this development is uncertain. — For further discussion of the whole question, see Gaston Paris in Romania 15, 619 and Kluge in ZRPh. 20.

[2] Cp. F *traître*, where the cons. group *tr* seems to have brought about the monophthong.

B 467 *wayten* (to observe) < guaitier < Gic *wahtōn

The preserved *ai* has been ascribed by Behrens, Franz. Stud. 5: 2, 129, to the influence of *w*, an explanation that does not seem very convincing. Slettengren, Engl. Stud. 49,13, ascribes the diphthong in this case as well to the early adoption of the word (cp. p. 119).

au.

Spelling.

This diphthong is usually spelt *au* in Ell., seldom *aw*.

Sources:

1) *au* < *a/l* + *cons.* — *au/v* gave ME *ā* (p. 55).

A 1905 auter[1] (altar) < autier < altārium (< altus)

D 1354 baude (bawd) < baude < Gic (OHG) bald (gay) : laude (praise) < laude < laus, laudis

F 411 faucon[1] (falcon) < faucon < falco, ōnis

A 2431 hauberk[2] < hauberc < Gic (OHG) halsberc < hals + bergan (= OE beorgan 'to protect')

C 330 hauteyn (haughty) < hautain < *altānus (< altus), the *h* being the *h* of Gic (OHG) hoh

HF 1321 heraudes (heralds) < herau(l)t < Gic *hari-weald (OHG herolt)

No monophthongization seems to have taken place before *m* in II 53 *bawme* (balm) < bau(s)me < balsamum (< Gr.), nor in III 1114 *pawmes* (palm of the hand) < paume < palma. ME had also spellings *-ame* in these words, but in Ch. at least we do not find them riming with *āme*. The ModE spelling is 'learned'.

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[1] ModE *altar*, *falcon* are spelled and pronounced after the Latin models.

[2] But A 76 *habergeoun*, where *au* is mostly replaced by *a*, evidently in a weak-stressed syllable. In Ch. I have only found the word in rime, so the actual stress is not easy to ascertain. Cp., however, ModE, where the stress may fall on the first or on the 2nd syllable, and the first vowel may be [æ] or [ɔ]. These conditions *may* reflect the ME state of things.

2) *au* < *au* in learned words. — The normal history of L *au* was *au* > OF *ǫ* > ME *ǭ* (p. 95).

II 727 cause < cause < causa
: clause < clause < clauso (< claudo)
D 2136 fraude (fraud) < fraude < fraus, -audis
II 351 gaude (gaud, toy) < gaude[1] < gaudia
: baude (bawd) — See p. 122
HF 1107 laure (laurel-tree) < laure < laurus

3) *ao*

D 1750 brawn (brawn, muscle) < braon < Gic *brāto (G Braten)
B 236 maumetrye (Mahometanism), to AF Mahomet

ęu.

Spelling.

Ell. writes *beautee* in the French way; in the other word, *heronsew(es)*, we find the same spelling as in native words with that diphthong.

Source:

eau < *ę/l + cons.* For *eau/m* > *ę̄/m*, see p. 73, *remes* (realms).
A 2385 beautee (beauty) < beautee < *bellitas, -ātis (< bellus)
F 68 heronsęwes (heronshaw, young heron) < heronceau < heron + cellus
: sęwes (juices) < OE sēaw

In the combination *ewe* one might of course take *w* as a consonant and read *ę̄/we*, but in *beautee*, where the *w* cannot commence the next syllable, *ęu* was inevitable. In any case, it is evident that the first element of the diphthong was long, perhaps slightly shorter than *ę̄*. There could not possibly be the same distribution of quantity as in *ou*, because that would presuppose that in the same way as *ǭw* < OE *āw* and *ǭw* < OE *ōw* had coalesced into *ou* in Ch., we should find OE *ēaw* and *ēow* identical, too, which is not the case. Neither is *ęu* parallel to the diphthong

[1] The AF word means 'bead', but no serious difficulties seem to oppose the identity of the ME and the AF words.

developed from OE *ǣʒ*, *ēʒ*, which likewise had coalesced. ME *ęu* and *ęu*[1] were rather on a level with *ę̄*, *ę̄* in their development towards ModE [*i̯ū*].

iu.

Spelling.

As a rule Ell. preserves the traditional French spelling. Thus we find *u*, *ui* — the latter, of course, often written *uy* — *eu* as in *deu*, *seur*. Spellings like B 1284 *salewe* (< saluer (to salute)) just show the difficulties under which the ME orthography laboured in its attempt to express the new sound. For *salue* would mean *salve*, and in *salwe* *w* would also be interpreted as a consonant. — In A 173 *reulen* the source is OF *iu*, and when Ell. writes *eu*, it is simply because *i/vowel* generally meant *dʒ* in ME. — B 1760 *Iew* (Jew) could not very well be spelt *Iu*, since final *u* was foreign to his methods of spelling — on the other hand, B 1749 *Iues* was quite natural — nor could he write *Iw*, where *I* would be vocalic. — In a few cases, as F 643 *mewe*: *blewe*, it really seems as though the scribe employs the traditional native *ew* (< OE *ēow*), indicating that Ch.'s *eu* had become *iu* by Ell.'s time[2] (about 1420).

Sources:

1) *ü* < *ū* — OF *ëü* had lost its *e* (p. 142).

HF 1325 [cote-]armure[3] (armour) < armeüre < armātūra
: vesture < vesture < *vestūra (< vestis)
I 680 assure < asseürer < *assēcūro (< sēcūrus)
: endure < endurer < indūrāre
C 11 creature < creature < creātūra
: nature < nature < nātūra

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[1] Which is not found in OF loan-words, unless possibly in such occasional borrowings as B 39 *depardieux*, A 384 *mortreux* (soups).

[2] Such being the case, it seems as though the transition *ęu* > *iu* was somewhat earlier than that of *ę̄* > *ī*.

[3] The ModE *armour* with the suffix changed was also familiar to Ch.: B 2056 *armour* : flour (flower). Although found in *Sir Thopas*, this form is not of necessity the outcome of purposely bad riming, since the contemporary literature has a great many instances of it.

E 622 ~ : mesure (measure) < mesure < mensūra
A 3043 due < deu, to devoir (< dēbēre)
: eschue (to eschew) — See below.
E 1313 fortune < fortune < fortūna
: commune (common share) < comun < commūnis
A 1719 Iuge (judge) < juge < jūdex, icis[1]
: refuge < refuge < refūgium
A 349 muwe (mew) < mue, to muer < mūtāre
: stuwe (fishpond) — See p. 126.
F 181 remewed[2] (removed') < remuer < re + mūtāre
: yglewed (glued) < gluer, to glu < glūs, -ūtis
G 431 similitude < similitude < similitūdo
: rude < rude < rudis
: conclude — See p. 127.

The transition *eu̯* > *ü* had taken place in AF, so that tenB § 74, was wrong when he assumed that the ModE *ʃ* in *sure* came from *sę*.

2) *ü* < *iu, iv, uv.* — The process of these changes is not quite clear. Perhaps the direct source of the ME diphthong here was AF *iu*, but it is very possible that this *iu* came from AF *ü* < *üi* < *iü* through metathesis (Cp. 4).

E 1812[3] eschu (averse) < eschiu, nomin. eschi(f)s < Gic *skiu- (=OE scēoh 'shy'). Cp. the vb.
: (de) coitu (L coitus)
A 3043 eschue (to eschew, escape) < eschuir (Moisy) = CF eschiver[4] (F esquiver) < Gic *sciuhan
: due — See above.

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[1] The Folk-L type was, according to Schw. § 137 A, **jūdicu* instead of **jūdice*, or *dʒ* was due to the vb. *jūgicr.* — For *jŭgge* (to judge), see p. 46.

[2] This vb. had even in OF largely, and in ME exclusively, the sense of 'to remove'.

[3] This rime is not impure, as Wild, 223, assumes. It rather shows — what is by no means surprising — that the ME school-pronunciation of L *u* in unchecked position was *iu*, thus following the pronunciation of the French loans. In the same way L *-us* got the same pron. as OF *ü* in checked syllable, i. e. ME *ŭs* (p. 107), as is shown by G 1457 *ignocius* (comp. of L ignōtus) : *thŭs*.

[4] The interchange of *iv, iu* in OF is not clear. Cp. Schw. § 106.

B 1760 Iew < giu, earlier juieu < Iūdæus

B 4234 reulen (to rule) < riuler < rēgulāre

A 349 stuwe[1] (stew, fishpond) < estuve < *extūbare (< τῦφος + tūbus)
: muwe (mew) — See p. 125.

I 379 suwe (to sue) < sieu-[2], inf. suivre < *sequere (L sequi)
: muwe (mew)

3) *ü*? = CF *eu, ev*

This group is still more obscure, and it bears only a partial resemblance to the development of the preceding group, since I know no trace of an OF or AF transition *eu* > *iu*.

F 644 blewe (blue) pl. = CF bleu, blef < OFrankish *blāw- < Gic *blēw- (M-L, Einführ., 54)
: mewe (mew)

IV 1310 truwe[3] (truce) = CF treve, tri(e)ve (F trève) < Gic (OE) trēowe
: muwe (mew)

4) *ü* = CF *üi* < *ū* + *epenthetic i*

C 510, 656, etc. fruit < fruit < frūctus

In A 2463 *rúyne* (ruin) < CF *ruine* < *ruīna* we have a word taken over after the transition of *üi* > *ü*[4]. This change apparently took place while the stress was still on the first element of *üi*.

It has not been necessary to keep apart monosyllabic and polysyllabic types, since the diphthong is consistently

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[1] For D 1332 *stȳves* (ī) : lȳves, see p. 93.

[2] The complicated character of this question may be illustrated by the variety of forms adduced by Schw. § 247 A as the results of Folk-L **sĕquit* : *sieut, siut, suit, sieu, siu, suif.*

[3] Wild, 222, 223, hesitates whether to declare this rime impure, or to consider it a proof of the coalescence in Ch. of OE *ēow* and French *ü*. Neither alternative would be acceptable. The rime is correct, because both words are OF loans, although *truwe* happens to be of English extraction. — Even NED traces it back — without French mediation — to OE *trēow(a)*, although it has no ME instance of the word earlier than the 14th c.

[4] For A 2177 *dedȳt* : whyt, see p. 91.

found — perhaps with a slight shade in quantity for the *u*-element (cp. *tune—funeral*) — whenever the vowel occurred in an unchecked syllable. To these we may also refer — as has proved applicable for the vocalism as a whole — the cases of *ü* followed by a *muta cum liquida*. Consequently we find *iu* in

G 1402 lucre < lucre < lucrum

B 2046 sugre (sugar) < sucre[1] < Arab. sokkar

The last word with its modern initial [ʃ] points, among other evidences[2], to a ME diphthong, since [ʃ] presupposes *sj* < *si̯*.

As to the proportions of length between the two elements in *iu*, this much may be said that, whatever the original expression of *ü* may have been, *i̯u* or *iu̯*, it did not take long before *i̯u* was victorious, since the 'heavier' part of the diphthong was bound to become the center of the syllable, a process repeated also in the case of native *ē̯w*, *ę̄w*.

Special cases.

G 772 *conclude* : *crude* (< conclūdere, crūdus)

Of course these words cannot be from French, but the existence of the OF equivalents may have inspired such loans from Latin itself. When ME had borrowed *conclusioun* from OF, this word was easily identified by learned people with L *conclūsio*, and when a verb was to be coined to this noun, L *conclūdere* suggested itself easily as the correct form[3].

H 72 *lure* (lure, bait) = CF leurre < ? Gic *lōþr (MHG luoder 'bait')
: peraventure (perhaps)

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[1] There were no French forms with *g* (NED). — The ModE vowel in *sugar* is [ŭ].

[2] See Jespersen: Hart's pron., 49 ff. — Sturmfels, Angl. 9, 571, had already pointed out the impossibility of a ME monophthong for *ü*. — Holthaus, Angl. 8, suggested ME *eu* for OF *ü*. — See also above, p. 33.

[3] That the vb. happens to be instanced as the slightly (20 years) earlier of the two in NED may be purely incidental, and affords, in any case, no evidence against this theory.

The etymology of the OF word, of which the earlier form is *loirre*, is itself debatable. With the above derivation we should get an OF *ue* giving ME *ē*. Remarkable is the spelling *lurre* (Godefr., Suppl.), which agrees better with the ME form than *loirre*, *leurre* do.

oi.

Spelling.

Ell. has almost consistently *oy*. Occasionally *oi* occurs in younger loans from CentralF, as in *roial*, but never in final position, according to the same principle as was followed for *i*.

Sources:

1) *ǫi* < *au* + *epenthetic i*

A 181 cloystre (cloister) < cloistre < *claustrium (L claustrum) : oystre (oyster) — See below.

IV 1306 Ioye (joy) < joie < gaudia (pl.) : anoye (to annoy) — See 2) and p. 130.

V 782 ~ : acoye (to coax) — II 801 coye is an aphetic form. — See coy, p. 129.

2) *oi* = CF *üi*[1] < *ǫ* + *epenthetic i*

IV 1304 anoye (to annoy) < anoier = CF enuier < *inodiare (= odium) : Ioye (joy)

G 812 oille (oil) < oile = CF üile < oleum : argoille (crude cream of tartar), of unknown origin

D 2099 oystre (oyster) < oistre = CF üistre < ostrea : cloystre (cloister)

A 2751 voyden (to get rid of) < voider = CF vuider (F vider) < *vocitāre (L vacuāre); cp. L. vocuus = vacuus

[1] The development of *ǫ* + *i* > *üi* is recognised as a specific CF trait (Nyrop I, § 202), and although *oi* is not given for the whole of the ONF domain (Schw. III 100), it is regularly reflected in ME, and may thus be considered prevalent in AF. — The rimes given here would have been impossible in CF.

As far as the verbs are concerned, it would be quite as possible to derive this *oi* from the end-stressed forms of CF, but the nouns do not allow of such an explanation.

3) CF oi (= AF ei) < *ę*

A 119 coy < CF coi > *quētus (L quiētus)
: Loy (St. Eligias)
B 961 royal < CF roial < rēgālis

Ell. and Hengwrt are the only MSS that write *oy* fairly consistently, while the others write *real* or *rial*. It seems really as though Ch. was the first ME writer to use the CF form, which is not surprising, considering his connections with the court, where CF models were undoubtedly of great importance (Cp. Wild, 228). As to *real* < *reial*, there seems to have been a contraction of the same kind as in *reme* (realm) < *reiaume*. More surprising is the *i* in *rial*, which Sturmf., Angl. 8, 255, explains as the result of dissimilation.

Special cases.

A 91 *floyte* (to play on the flute) could not possibly come from OF *fleute*, which gave the ModE *flute*. We have rather to look to MLG *vloite*, which itself may represent an adaptation of the OF word. The ModE form does not appear before the 16th c.

uį̂.

Spelling.

For obvious reasons this diphthong came to be written in exactly the same way as *oį̂*, *u* being avoided before *i*, *y*. Here, too, *oy* is more common than *oi*, which, however, was regularly used before *ll* — A 380 *boille*, etc. —, where *oill* corresponded to a CF *u/l̃*[1].

[1] That, nevertheless, ME *oi* and *ui* have to be distinguished is evident from several points of view. On the other hand, it seems doubtful if the etymological differentiation in ME was kept up in early NE to the extent suggested by Luick, Angl. 14, 301, where the contradictory state-

Sources:

1) *ui* = CF *o̯i* < *o̯* + *epenthetic i̯*

Before *l* mouillé CF, too, had *u* in a pretonic syllable, but then there was no diphthong.

C 952 coillons (cullion) > coillon < *cōleōnem (L cōleus)
E 374 dispoilen (to strip) > despoiller < dēspoliāre
A 2961 enoynt (anointed) < enoint < inunctus
: disioynt (failure) < disjoint < disjunctus
A 200 ~ : poynt (point) < point < punctum
A 3165 foyson (plenty) < foison < *fusiōnem (< L fūsio)
A 634 oynons (onions) < oinon = CF o(i)gnon < *uniōnem (L ūnio)
B 3859 poison < poison < pōtio, -ōnis
A 352 poynaunt (pungent) < poignant < pungens, -entis
B 449 voys (voice) < voiz < vox, vōcis
: croys (cross) < croiz < crux, crucis

Special cases.

5, 518 *acloyeth* (to overburden) : *anoyeth*

NED identifies *accloy* with OF *encloyer*, earlier *encloër*, F *enclouer* < **inclāvare* (< *clāvus*).

The relation between OF *encloyer* and *encloer* is hard to establish. Was *-oy* due to influence of the common verbal suffix *-oyer* (< icāre)? The ME from might also be traced back to the doublet *cloir* (with *-ir* from the second conjugation?). Cp. V 395 *rejoye* (< rejoir): Troye.

D 1847, F 883 *anoye* : *destroye*

These are most surprising rimes considering the undeniable *oi* of *anoye* (: Ioie 'joy' IV, 1304). As to *destroye*

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ments of the grammarians fail to convince the reader of any consistent relation between the ME and the NE diphthongs. The levelling of *oi* and *ui* to *oi* probably goes back to ME, and *may* have begun by Ch.'s time. That there did exist a differentiation at one time, is undeniable, as Luick shows by referring to *u* in *bushel*, *cushion*, etc. (p. 299), and we may add doublets like *onion—oinon*, *cullion—cuillon*.

ME *oi* and *ui* are equally unexpected, since Folk-L *distrūgere (for dēstruere) gave OF *üi* in pretonic as well as tonic position. This *üi* should have given nothing but AF *ü* > ME *iu*. In fact, the earliest ME instances of the verb have *destrue, destruye*, apparently with the *iu* expected. The difficulty is how to account for the Chaucerian forms, for which the spelling, if trustworthy, does not allow *iu*. If we do not take the spelling into account, we could, it is true, patch up a rime between a CF form of *anoye* with a regular ME *iu* and **destrue*, but that would leave the ModE *destroy* with ME *oi* (or *ui*) quite as obscure as before. We have rather to start from the point of view taken for the discussion of ME *ŭ* derived from *ü* in a checked syllable. We have assumed above (p. 110) that in AF this *ü* must have become an *ŭ*-like sound. In this case the syllable was checked by an *į/cons.*, which proved equivalent to a cons. group and brought about the *u* found in ME *uį*. Noteworthy is the AF (Moisy) spelling *destroire*.

This rime is therefore not accurate, *oį* being combined with *uį*, for we cannot assume that*u į* and *oį* had coalesced as early as Ch. (p. 129 Note). The said rime was evidently simply an 'eye-rime', although such rimes are quite exceptional in Ch.

E 2011 *proyne* (to prune, trim), has a variety of forms in ME.

Ell. allone has *preyne*. Ch.'s form cannot be ascertained from this single instance. We find in ME *preyne, preene, proyne;* from the 16th c. and in ModE *prune*. The relation between these various forms is obscure. Skeat (Gloss.) derives *progne* from OF *proigner, proroigner,* which comes from *pro* + *roignier* < **rotundiāre* (< *rotundus*). In AF (Moisy) we find only *progner* (élaguer), which is the source expected for Ch.'s form.

PART III

PRE- AND POST-TONIC VOWELS

I. Quantity and Quality of Unstressed Vowels.

In the chapters dealing with stress in Ch.'s language (Part I: II, III, IV), it has been ascertained that the native accentuation was prevalent, probably since the date of the first French loans. It must then follow that long quantity could not exist in syllables that were more or less unstressed. Of course there were differences, then as well as now, between the quantities of the unstressed vowels in different positions. But with a view to the later development, especially the vowel-shift that must have set in not long after Ch., it is sufficient to keep apart only two degrees of quantity: long and short. — On the lengthening of an unstressed vowel in *final* position, see above p. 75.

Of course it is hazardous to draw any definite conclusions as to the quality of the unstressed vowels. We find, however, from rimes containing a normally unstressed vowel joined with a monosyllabic word (E 916 *age* : *mariage*, etc.) that the differentiation in quality that has later on taken place between a stressed and an unstressed vowel, did not exist or was very slight by Ch.'s time. We need only turn to the younger Ch. MSS, however, to find spellings indicating that the reduction of syllables had begun even in ME. In Ell. we find no traces of this reduction, which of course may be due simply to a careful observance of the traditional spelling. But as it seems appropriate to connect this phenomenon with the disappearance of the final *-e*, which accompanied the greater concentration of stress on one single syllable (Part I: Ch. II), it is natural to assume that Ch.'s language was not affected by the reduction in question.

II. Prefixes.

In this chapter I am first going to examine the prefixes, where a great deal of inconsistency is found even in the Ell. spellings. The only results that can be reached are based on statistical researches. There was, for instance, a vacillation between *an—en*, *des—dis*, etc. It is very likely that the prefix *con-* in some words meant *kŭn-* — the regular equivalent of the same AF prefix — in others *kŏn*, representing a spelling-pronunciation of the same kind as that referred to above (p. 100). Before *n* the spelling was unable to do justice to this differentiation. — As to the spelling-pron. in prefixes like *de-*, *di-*, *pro-*, which is quite common in ModE, nothing positive can be asserted, but following the arguments given above (p. 90), there is no reason to assume a long vowel in these prefixes.

To ascertain whether the aphetic forms found in the MSS belonged to Ch. or not, we have to fall back upon the criterion of the metre, although this is by no means infallible[1].

The following prefixes frequently interchange in the MSS: *a, an, as, em, en, es, ex.*[2]

The aspect presented by these various forms is one of more or less arbitrary confusion. We also find aphetic doublets for a great many compounds with these prefixes. The confusion, however, began already in AF, where dialects with differently developed prefixes had intermixed, and was

[1] The same test is applicable also with regard to medial and final syllables. Thus the majority of lines point to the syllabic value of *i* in *-ial*, *-ioun*, *-ious*. It seems to me that there is no reason to doubt the syllabic value in lines where this *i* is not indispensible, since it often happens that the *thesis* consists of more than one syllable. I do not realise the necessity of synizesis (tenB § 286), for instance, in

B 99 O hateful harm! Condicion of poverte! Nor does

E 2023 This noble Ianuarie, with al his might,

necessarily presuppose a reduction of the proper name to *Ianuar*, although such a form is really recorded.

[2] On confusion of prefixes in general, see Schmidt, K.: Präfixwandlungen.

only augmented by the tendencies prevailing in the native language. In AF, as well as in OE, there existed side by side, and with small or no difference in meaning, verbs without prefix and with prefix: OE *dælan—ādælan*; AF *cunter—acunter*. When, then, many prefixes in some cases only had an intensifying character it was natural that the AF verbs incidentally were given a 'wrong' prefix.

Later there was a tendency to normalize the unsettled usage of these various prefixes according to CF standards, a tendency that is visible already in Ell., less in other MSS, and may possibly have been favoured by the poet himself. A few instances of these doublets will be adduced. The usual form is given first.

A 199 anoint — A 2961 enoint (anointed) < AF an-, CF enoint < inunctus

A 3147 apeiren — E 2198 empeyre (to impair) < AF a-, CF empeirer < in + pejorāre

A 1420 aspye — A 1112 espye (to spy) < AF a-, CF espier < Gic (OHG) spehôn

A 926 assure — C 143 ensure (to assure, insure) < AF en-, OF assurer < *ad-(in-)sēcūrāre (< sēcūrus)

A 496 ensample — A 568 exemple (example) < AF en-, CF essample, exemple < exemplum

des-, dis-.

These variants of spelling originally corresponded to the OF *des-* < L *dis-* and its learned doublet *dis-*, although by analogy *dis-* came to be written in ME even in words where *des-* had other sources (*dē* + *ex-*, *dī/s*). ME *dis-* is thus far more frequent than OF *dis-* which was only used when equivalent to L *dis-*. Also in AF (see Moisy) *dis-* was separated from *des-*.

In Ell. we find the following proportions. Ch.'s equivalents of OF *des-* : *dis-* (< L *dis*) seem to occur in the ratio of 1 : 3.5, whereas OF *des-* (< *dē* + *ex*, *dī/s*) is rendered by *des-* : *dis-* = 3.1 : 1, thus still with a minority for the intrusive *dis-*. We also find a number of words that have *des-* and *dis-* more or less interchangeably, for which Wild, 235,

finds the ratio 34 : 42, the majority of *dis-* being due to the fact that most of the verbs contain Latin *dis-*[1].

Examples:

des-	dis-	des-, dis-
A 789 desdeyn (disdain)	E 432 discord	B 3025 desherit (to disinherit — A 2926 dis-
A 966 desplaye (to display)	F 424 discryue (to describe)	A 3474 despeir (despair) — E 1669 dis-
A 941 despyt (spite)	B 1601 disioynt (failure)	B 2121 despende (to spend) — B 3500 dis-
C 340 destourbe (to disturb)	E 506 displese (to displease)	G 592 desport (sport) — A 137 dis-
A 1330 destroye (to destroy)	E 1474 disputisoun (argument)	I 664 despoyle (to rob, strip) — E 374 dis-
		A 1455 destrayne (to constrain) — A 1816 dis-

We find that ModE has generalized *dis-* to a far greater extent. The victory of *dis-* is of course primarily due to learned spelling, but it cannot be denied that phonetical tendencies pointed to the same development. A pretonic *e* spontaneously weakened to *i*, so that we have here a collaboration of two different tendencies. Cp. *mes, mis.*

en-, in-.

The French conditions were fairly accurately reflected in Ch., and the Latinized *in-*, which later on became almost the regular spelling, seems only to be found in words that had *in* also in OF. Such is the case in

B 3538 endure — G 855 induracioun (hardening) < endurer, induration, to L indūrāre

E 738 enforme (to inform) — B 3059 informacioun < enformer, information, to L informāre

[1] A confusion of *di-*, *de-* did not occur, apart from B 1414 *devyne* (to guess) — A 2515 *divyne* < deviner < L divīnāre. The Latin influence was predominant, Ell. writing 7 *di-*, 2 *de-*. B 1592 *defye* — D 1928 *diffye* (to defy) are doublets of OF defier < dis + fīdo, Latinized in ME on L diffīdo.

A 3166 enquere (to inquire) — A 3163 inquisitif < enquerre, inquisitif, to L in + quærere

The same is true of *entre-*, *inter-* which have later on been unified to *inter-*. Ch. has still III 1368 *entrechaunge* (to interchange) etc.

mes-, mis-.

Here we have a conflict between native (OE) *mis* and the borrowed *mes-* (< mes < minus). As in the case of *dis-* we find here, too, the *i*-form victorius, owing chiefly to the popularity of the native *mis-*, but perhaps also to the phonetical tendency of a pretonic *e* giving *i*. Cp. *des-, dis-*.

In two words, however, Ell. has still the OF *mes-*, namely in D 407 etc. *meschaunce*[1], A 493 etc. *meschief*, both meaning 'misfortune'. These words were evidently not felt to be compounds and were, therefore, slower in being adapted to the common *mis-*. This *mis-* was prefixed even to verbs which had no corresponding compound in OF, for example

V 1185	misacounted (miscounted)	E 2410	misconceyne (to misunderstand)
A 513	miscarie (to go amiss)	B 3723	misgyed (misguided)

This makes it likely that in cases of *mis-* corresponding to OF *mes-*, B 616 *misaventure* (misfortune) < *mesaventure*, I 805 *misese* (trouble) < *mesaise*, etc., we have to do with mere change of prefixes, rather than a phonetical development of *mes* < *mis*.

III. Aphæresis.

The causes of aphæresis have already been briefly set forth in connection with the confusion of prefixes[2]. It may be added, as far as the nouns with initial *a* are concerned,

[1] Only 3 times, *mischaunce*, D 1334, E 1433, F 1374 (Wild, 233). — On the stress of these words, see p. 16.

[2] For a detailed discussion of this question, see Slettengren.

that the mistaking this *a-* for the indefinite article was a contributing factor.

To determine by the metre whether Ch. had an aphetic form or not is admissible only in so far as the prefix was indispensable as a *thesis* in the line, that is, we may conclude from the requirements of the metre to the minimum of weak syllables and thus ascertain whether the prefix was necessary or not. On the other hand, we cannot argue from the redundance of a prefix that the original form was aphetic, since the metrical *thesis* could contain more than one syllable. Thus, it is evident that *escape* was the actual form in a line like

B 3925 Whan hé escáped was he can not stente,

whereas *scape* is not proved beyond doubt in, for instance,

V 908 the knéw fal wél ther shal not scápen oon,

where *not*, although sufficient as a *thesis*, does not preclude an additional syllable, although it would certainly prove an error to believe in Ch.'s exclusive use of *escape*, considering the large number of doublets in other such words. It has also to be borne in mind that the normal Chaucerian line had the same number of unstressed and of stressed syllables succeeding each other, and that the Ell. MS observes this rule also with regard to the interchange of aphetic and non-aphetic forms with a precision that presupposes either a highly conscientious copying or a constant attention to the rhythmical requirements on the part of the scribe.

We may therefore follow the spellings of the Ell. MS in its use of aphetic forms without running the danger of departing essentially from the poet's own language. In cases of a fairly equal distribution of such doublets we might even venture a guess as to which was the normal form by consulting lines where the word was found in hiatus. Thus one might possibly argue for the prevalence of *escape* from a line like

A 1270 That if I míghte escápen from prisoun,

where the poet had the choice between *escapen* and *scapen*. Of course *escape may* belong to the scribe alone.

Aphetic forms in Ch. were mainly of the following types. — With loss of:

1) *a-* (of various origins):

II 329[1] *mende* (to profit) — Usually *amende* F 197
C 852 *pothecarie* (apothecary) — Usually *a-* A 425
A 4365 *prentis* (apprentice) — Also *apprentice* D 303
A 2613 *semble*[2] (to assemble) — Usually *assemble* G 50
B 2471 *venge* (to revenge) — *avenge* I 535

Here we may place also HF 979 (in) *were* (doubt), if the connection with AF *awer* suggested by Derocguigny, 95, is tenable.

2) *de/s, di/s + cons.*

D 1931 *spence* (pantry) — *dispence* (expence) D 1263
A 806 *spende*[3] (to spend) — Also *despende* B 3500
D 223 *spitously* (spitefully) — *despyt* (spite) A 941

3) *prosthetic e/s + cons.*

A 3388 *scorn*
A 87 *space* — Seldom *espace* B 2219
A 2809 *spirit* — Only in prose *espirituel* I 79
B 1615 *spouse* (husband), F 291 *spyce* (spice)
V 703 *spye* (spy) — Also *espye* B 2216
F 1506 *spye* (to spy) — Also *espye* B 324
A 79 *squyer* (squire), D 2089 *squyre*
A 2995 *stablissed* (established)
A 572 *staat* (state) — Usually *estaat* B 973
D 1847 *stomak* (stomach)
A 709 *storie* (history, story) — C 156 *historial* (historical)
B 3560 *stour* (battle) < esto(u)r < Gic (OHG) sturm
A 545 *stout* (brave), A 13 *straunge* (strange)
C 538 *streyne* (to strain), A 1187 *stryf* (strife)

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[1] Outside the CF the spellings are less trustworthy, and can be relied upon only if the metre goes to corroborate the forms in question.

[2] OF *sembler* only exceptionally occurs in this sense.

[3] The first instance in NED is from 1175, and the OE form *āspendan* is only scantily recorded, so that OF origin seems preferable. — *Expend* does not appear before the 15th c.

As a rule the aphetic forms are in a large majority, and even to-day most of these words begin with *s*. The *e*-less forms are likely to have originated in the common hiatus after the definite article, most of the words being nouns or adjectives. There the + *eś-* gave *thes-*, dissolved into *the s-*.

IV. Unstressed Vowels in Medial Position.

A metrical test is not always infallible for deciding whether a syncopated word was original in Ch. or not. Here, as in the case of the aphetic forms, we can draw definite conclusions only from lines where the syllable in question was necessary as a *thesis*, whereas we have no right to eliminate a syllable because it was metrically superfluous. Following the argument given above (p. 140) we are, nevertheless, in a position to get fairly accurate results concerning the medial unstressed vowels.

As a rule the OF vowels were preserved unchanged also medially, and many of the deviations from CF are found already in AF. Such words were A 1604 *seurtee*[1] (surety), where *e*, although retained in spelling, was dropped in AF (Schw. § 271 A). Of the same kind were 3, 429 *founes*[2] (fawns) < feon < *fētōnen (< fētus), 3, 661 *poun*[2] (pawn at chess) < peon < *pēdonen (< pēs).

In AF, too, was found *i* for CF *ai* in nouns in *-ison* < *-ātione(m)*:

B 4507 comparisoun A 2372 orisoun, C 83 venisoun

Likewise G 1204 *alkamistre* (alchemist) is indebted to AF for its *-a-*. — A 2501 *paraments* — F 269 *parements* (rich hangings) had both their OF equivalents.

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[1] The monosyllabic *seur* was not the result of synizesis, as was assumed by tenB § 268. Cp. p. 143, Note 1.

[2] There existed in OF also *faon*, *paon*, which gave rise to the ModE forms, and thus belong to the same category as *brawn* (p. 122).

If we now turn to the changes that cannot be assumed to have taken place in AF, we are first concerned with the medial *-e-*. As a rule it is preserved, for instance in

D 1367 bryberies
1, 47 enemy
F 697 frankeleyn (franklin)
D 2209 frenesye (frensy)
F 1575 remenaunt (*-e-* often redundant)
B 1679 Iewerye (Jewry) < juerie

Thus A 2555 *chieftayn* should be traced back to OF *chieftain* (Godefr.) rather than to *chevetain*, since this form would evidently have preserved the *-e-* in Ch.'s language. So we can hardly assume even a partly phonetical process in the exchange of *v* for *f*, as NED does. The analogy of the related *chief* had no doubt been influential even in OF.

But if the preservation of *-e-* should clash with the stress tendencies, which favoured a stressed antepenult in polysyllabic words, the *-e-* disappeared. Therefore, we find 4, 236 *enmite* (enmity) < enemistie made trisyllabic, since the chief stress was on the initial syllable[1]. This accounts for the syncopation in

V 802 chevalrous < chevalerous, A 45 chivalrye < chivalerie
A 23 hostelrye (hostel) < ostelerie
B 1906 tourneyment (tournament) < tourneyement

B 837 *kerchef* (kerchief) is Skeat's emendation of Ell.'s consistent spelling *coverchief* (D 590, etc.), which he preserves in other instances in his edition. In A 453 the trisyllabic form is metrically necessary, and nowhere metrically impossible. The remarkable thing about this form is only that we find *-ver-* for *vre-*. This may be explained as the outcome of a series *covre-* > *covere-* > *cover-*, where the form *covere-* may originally have been simply a spelling[2],

[1] This does not imply, however, that words of four syllables like *amorously*, *naturally* should be pronounced, even in poetry, with syncopation of the second vowel. Cp. tenB. § 263. Nor have we any reason to eliminate, even metrically, *i* in *perilous*, on account of

B 1999 A perilous man of dede.

The same remark holds true of the whole process treated by tenB. as *synizesis* (§ 268).

[2] Cp. 3, 549 *discure* and G 696 *discovere*.

just as in the vb. *coveren*, because *our* would mean *ūr* not *ŭvr*, but there seems to be a great probability for a vocalic glide between *v* and *r* to make the spelling *covere* phonetically exact. It is true that *covere* is never metrically trisyllabic, but the same is true also of *-sidere* in *considere* with original *-e-*. If then **covere-chef* was actually quadrisyllabic, elimination of one *-e-* must have take place (p. 143) so as to make the word trisyllabic, and then the first *-e-*, which helped to avoid the spelling *vr*, proved more indispensable than the other. Hence *coverchef*[1].

In other words the *-e-* tended to drop before a consonant group.

B 512 constable < conestable
B 2035 minstral(es)[2] (minstrel) < ministral, menestral
A 207 palfrey < palefrei

The same may be said about A 598 *pultrye* (poultry) < pouleterie, if we assume that the intermediate stage was *pouletrye*, where one *-e-* had been syncopated in conformity with the tendency referred to above.

In two cases *-erer-* had been simplified to *-er* by way of dissimilation:

A 2936 perrye (jewellery) < perrerie
4, 288 emperice (empress) < empererice

Some words show a tendency to substitute *-i-* for *-e-*, in a few cases evidently due to Latin influence.

A 241 hostiler (innkeeper) < hostelier < *hospitālārius (hospitālis)
A 3012 ordinaunce[3] (arrangement) < ordenance < MedL ordinantia (< ordo, -inis)
F 59 vestiment (vestment) < vestement < vestīmentum

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[1] Cp. 3, 549 *discure and* G 696 *discovere*.

[2] A 2197 *minstralcye* had also the stress to favour syncopation.

[3] Other MSS, as III 535, have *-e-*. — When A 3776 *chimenee* < chimenee, cheminee (chimney) shows the opposite process, the *-e-* is evidently due to dissimilation with the first *i*. This *i* was found already in French in a number of words with initial *ch*: A 85 chivachye (military expedition), A 45 chivalrye (knighthood).

Special cases.

B 2099 *auntrous* (adventurous) < aventurous occurs in the line

And for he was a knight auntrous

The usual form *aventurous* occurs, for instance, in B 2858, but as the form *auntrous* is rather common in ME we need not doubt that it is genuine here. Its occurrence in Sir Thopas may make this assumption still more founded. The short form must have been developed from *áventurous* with initial stress from *áventure*. Then medial *-e-* dropped before cons. group and **avnturous* became *auntrous*. The loss of *-u-* is remarkable but is comparable with the syncopation of *-e-* mentioned above. — Cp. also A 4205 *auntre* (to risk).

A 1785, 4220 etc. *benedicite* (bless you) is interesting.

Although of Latin type, this word may have passed through AF before reaching ME. It is an interesting illustration of the strong contraction to which a long, clumsy word was exposed in popular use.

That an interjection of five syllables was exposed to reduction is not surprising. It is natural, too, that the popular pronunciation, for which long polysyllables were rather awkward, gave the initial syllable the chief stress, eliminated the three middle vowels and thus created a dissyllabic form *benste*, where *d* naturally had dropped in the group of four consonants. *Benste* does not occur in Ell., but is frequently recorded in other ME works. Ell. always has the full Latin form, which, however, is only once metrically necessary:

A 1785 The god of love A benedicite (: he).

In other instances the word fills up a dis-, tri-, or quadrisyllabic[1] metrical measure, although this does not necessarily imply that Ch. himself knew as many variants, or even that in reading his own poetry he would have

[1] D 2170 (This lord began to looke and seide benedicitee — Cp. Skeat's ed.), B 4583, D 1584 (Cp. Skeat), resp.

given the word four different pronunciations to obtain a fixed number of syllables in the line. His actual form is hard to ascertain with any great amount of certainty. Statistically the trisyllabic form has the greater probability, judging by its metrical use[1]. The Latin *bènedícite* became popularly *bénedìcite* > *bendiste* > *ben(d)ste*.

B 4324 *boteler* (butler) < boteiler points to a change of suffixes: *el(er)* for *eil(er)*, rather than a monophthongization of medial *-ei-*. In any case, we find the monophthong also in OF (Godefr., Suppl.). There can be no question of analogy with *bottle*, since this word, even if the connection with *butler* was in the people's mind — which is unlikely — appeared later, at least in the literature (NED).

A 4041 *croun* (crown), the equivalent of AF coroun(e), CF corone < L corōna

To assume French origin for ME *croun* presupposes an unparalleled type of syncopation[2]. In view of the absence of *-o-* in the corresponding words of other Germanic languages, one might be inclined to coördinate the ME form with its relatives in other Germanic languages (MLG *krône*, *krûne*, etc.)[3].

On the other hand, it is undeniable that the OF forms entered into competition with the earlier, syncopated form (Orrm has *cruness*). In Ell. we find, except *croun(e)*, also *corone*, *coroune*, in

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[1] That this trisyllabic form could not be read *bencite*, as was suggested by Child, Observ. § 96 — a theory accepted by tenB. (§ 263), and Skeat (Gloss.) — has been pointed out by Flügel, Prolegomena to a Chaucer Dict., Angl. 22, 419.

[2] Also B 431 *krone* (crone) : allone, everichone should rather be connected with the MDu *kronie* (old sheep) than with Picard *carone* (carrion), for which derivation the vowel, too, raises difficulties.

[3] I find the same doubts as to the French origin of crown expressed by Behrens, Franz. St. 5: 2, 20.

G 280 And made his angel hem the corones bringe
A 2290 A coroune of a grene ook cerial

It is impossible, however, to decide from the metre whether these forms reflect a dissyllabic or monosyllabic form in the poet's language. The vowel in the longer (French) form should be ō (p. 99), and its absence in rimes justifies the conclusion that the current form was *croun*. *Coroune* would then represent a contamination of both, probably a merely orthographic variant.

B 4060 Was cleped faire *damoysel(e)* Pertelote

should no doubt, as Wild, 228, justly remarks, be read *damsel*, but not necessarily for metrical reasons, since a dissyllabic *thesis* is not quite unique. But it is very reasonable that a title, mostly followed by a proper name, should be reduced also in natural speech to a more convenient form.

A 752 *marshal* < marechal may owe its syncopation to the same tendency, since any other reason could hardly be imagined for the loss of *-e-* in this word.

5, 339 *merlion* (merlin) shows a peculiar transposition of the *-il-* of AF merilon = CF esmerillon. A connection with *merle* or *lion* seems to be out of the question.

F 1374 Upon the *pavement*, god yeve hem mischaunce might be read, with some MSS *pament*, which would give a metrically ideal line, but, since the trisyllabic form is proved to have been the normal by other lines (B 85, 1867) I do not hesitate to retain the Ell. form. *Pament* is later than the general syncopation of *-e-*, and shows regular loss of *v* before *m*.

HF 1218 *shalmyes* (shawms) should be read *chalemies*, as some MSS have it. The *-e-* is metrically necessary.

B 1762 *wardrobe* (privy) < warderobe dropped the *-e-*, whether consistently or not remains doubtful in view of the absence of further instances in Ch. In any case, the noun *ward* may have been identified with the first element of the word.

V. Suffixes.

As a rule the suffixes were regularly transmitted in their OF shape, as we have found from the numerous instances of a riming suffix with metrical stress[1]. It has already been pointed out that in the normal speech these suffixes must have had the same kind of weak stress as the native suffixes.

No phonetical changes within ME are to be traced in the suffixes during the period reaching up to Ch., and the only deviations that can be ascertained for his language are simply due to a change of suffixes. Of course a great many of these changes are likely to have taken place already in AF, although we do not find all of them instanced in the AF literature.

We have already found that *-eis* must have replaced *-ais* in words like *paleys* (p. 119). Other instances of such a change, whether originating in AF or ME, are:

HF 1643 pelet[2] (pellet, stone cannon-ball) = pelote (< L pila)
D 344 perree (jewellery)[3] = perrerie, to pierre < petra : he
C 391 pulpet[2] (pulpit) < pulpit < pulpitum : yset (pa. p. of OE settan)

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[1] The frequency of such rimes has made it necessary to deal with these suffixes in connection with the stressed syllables: *-able* (p. 55), *-al* (pp. 56, 68), *-arie* (p. 67), *-ee* (p. 75), *-er* (p. 76), *-el* p. 82), *-et* (p. 84), *-ie*, *-ible* (p. 89), *-orie* (p. 101), *-ous* (p. 107) and others.

[2] With *-et* from the suffix *-et* < *-ettus*. — D 2282 *pulpit*.

[3] Not 'a pear-tree', as Cromie has it. — The normal form is found in A 2936 *perryc* (: spycerye).

Il 611 skarmish[1] (skirmish) = escarmouche (< Ital <) Gic *skerm-

In this connection a word should be said about Ch.'s form of ModE *vĕlvet*. I have found it only once:

F 644 And covered it with veluëttes blewe

So Skeat reproduces Ell.'s *ueluettes*, and the trisyllabic form seems metrically necessary. We have, therefore, to assume that Ch. had *u* where ModE has *v*. In NED we find the ModE form instanced for the first time in 1350.

Neither Ch.'s, nor the modern form, can be derived from OF *velute*, and NED traces it back to MedL *veluetum*, *velvettum*, giving as the only OF form *velut(e)*. There existed, however, also OF *veluote*, giving ModF *velvote*, and it would be quite as possible to connect *veluet* with OF *veluote* in the same way as *pellet* has been connected with OF *pelote*, that is, with a change of suffixes.

VI. Apocopation.

It is a well-known characteristic of Ch.'s versification that he never combined *-íe* with *ī* in rime. The conclusion seems obvious: Ch. still pronounced the final *-e* in native as well as in borrowed words. But can this rule be generalized for all cases? Of course *-e* was invariably pronounced in cases like A 1095 *crye* (to cry) : *eye* (= īə) and undoubtedly also in verbs of the type B 4535 *multiplye* : *dye*, where even in natural speech *íe* had at least as much stress as the initial syllable. Less plausible is the preservation of *-e* in polysyllabic nouns or adjectives: *melodye*, *tirannie*, or, to take other types, *ignoraunce*, *gentillesse*, *pilgrimage*, or any word where the chief stress fell on an other syllable than that preceding the *-e*. The only place where the *-e* of polysyllables consistently counts as a syllable is rime. Here the artificial stress on the ending gave the poet an oppor-

[1] The *-ish* form — if it is Ch.'s cannot be proved — is from the vb. *skirmish* < *eskirmiss*, inf. *-ir* < Gic **skirman*.

tunity to follow the French versification with its variation of rimes with and without *-e*. Ch.'s consistent observance of this rule was therefore due to his familiarity with the French art of poetry, which he tried to follow as closely as his native language allowed, sometimes against the tendencies of the vernacular.

It has been pointed out already that metre does not always give an infallible clue as to the syllabic value of unstressed syllables (p. 140). A word of the type *véngeaunce* was by necessity metrically dissyllabic, allowance being made of course for the possibility of a *thesis* containing two syllables, and it is not admissible to assume the disappearance of *-e* merely on metrical grounds. On the other hand, we find only a limited number of lines where the *-e* received metrically strong stress, as in

D 1156 Ne fólwe his géntil aúncestrè, that déed is (: dedis 'deeds')
B 3943 And Phébus with his tówaillè so cléne
B 3523 With hís they máde allíauncè by bónde

To read them with 'direct attack', i. e. with the first word of the line stressed, would hardly bring about a more natural diction. The fact is that these lines are only so many instances of poetical licence due to the same French influence that was at work in the rime-words just referred to. The preservation of final *-e* in polysyllables can therefore not be ascertained for Ch. by any metrical evidence of that kind.

Nevertheless, there are strong reasons for assuming that *-e* had really disappeared in other words than those with a preceding full-stressed syllable. Our case is evidently similar to the question of the inflectional *-e* in polysyllables. This *-e* was still preserved in words of the monosyllabic type, but had disappeared elsewhere and was mostly omitted in the spelling too. Metrically irrelevant are combinations like D 1115 *the gentile dedes* or D 1263 *nigardes* with a metrically superfluous *-e*. But D 1937 *auditours* : *sours* (source) does not allow the insertion of *-e*. Such a rime could

be suspected as a French nonce-rime (cp. C 291 advocatz (-ās) : allas), if we did not find great numbers of such spellings elsewhere: D 1429 *extórcious*, D 1641 *sómnours*, G 900 *métals*[1], etc. Against these forms rimes like B 3558 *emperoures* : *floures* (flowers) are analogical exceptions, taking the *-e* of the monosyllables to give a correct rime. Such instances rather justify Frieshammer's (XIV) assertion that 'auch in der Formgebung wird die Sprache des Verses eine "gehobene" sein'. This is, however, the exception rather than the rule, and few poets come up to the natural raciness of Ch.'s verse. It was only in rime that he was forced to use archaic or foreign forms.

The disappearance of *-e* in polysyllables in Ch.'s language is also chronologically reasonable. The general loss of *-e* took place for the London dialect in all probability not later than the middle of the 15th c., and it is phonetically obvious that *-e* should drop earlier in a polysyllable, where it was more weak-stressed, than in a monosyllable. Cp. *āge* — *advántăge*, *chaunce* — *ígnoraunce*, *distrésse* — *géntilesse*, *vīce* — *óffĭce*, etc. with *-e* dropped in the polysyllables, although retained in the orthography. The preservation of *-e* in spelling was generally due to French influence, but it should also be borne in mind that endings like *-age*, *-aunce* required the *-e* to indicate the value of the preceding consonant.

According to Schwan-Behrens, § 265 A, the loss of *-e* in AN took place earlier than in other dialects, beginning as early as the 12th c. It seems most likely that there, too, it disappeared earlier in polysyllables than in other words, but such an assumption is not necessary as far as ME is concerned, since the process in question is sufficiently accounted for by ME conditions. — On the other hand, it is surprising to find a small number of monosyllabic words having lost their original *-e*, as may be ascertained from rimes. These exceptions are so few, however, that there can be no question here of a general tendency towards the dropping of *-e*. In some cases doublets had existed in OF:

[1] See, further, Kittredge, Observations, 104.

B 4069 *accórd* < acord(e), D 2049 *record*[1] (: lord) < record(e)
D 1938 *sours* (: auditours) < sors, source

For *queynte* (quaint), which Skeat (Gloss.) gives without *-e*, I have not been able to find a single instance to prove the monosyllabic use in Ch. In 3, 531 *queynte* (: aqueynte 'to acquaint'), for instance, the *-e* is indispensable.

No *-e* was found in

B 1945 *best* 'beast' (: Est 'East') < beste (sir Thopas!)
C 303 *fors* 'force' (: cors 'body') < force
B 677 *prees* 'crowd' (: pees 'peace') < presse
B 45 *text* < texte (In many ME works we find *texte* as well. See NED.)

The number of these irregular forms is very small, and the loss of *-e* was hardly the result of a phonetical process. An explanation may be looked for in the following fact. The AF dialect showed from early times a considerable confusion of genders, due partly perhaps to English influence[2], and, as *-e* was considered a typical feminine ending, it was only natural that there should result a partial loss of the original *-e*. The same confusion gave rise to the occasional addition of an unetymological *-e* in a couple of words: A 3044 *due* : eschue (to eschew), III 254 *mene* (means) : clene (clean) B 3244 *pere* (peer, equal) : dere (dear)[3].

In A 1055 *aungel* we find a transposition of the OF *-le* through the analogy of the common native *-el*, or perhaps we have here too a case of final *-e* disappearing in polysyllables, the OF form being *angele*, where *-e-* may

[1] Hence it seems doubtful if *-e* is justifiable in Skeat's ed.: 3, 933 (in his) worde : recorde. — By analogy OF *concorde* could then become ME *concord*, although the initial stress might itself be responsible for the loss of *-e*. Only III 506 points to *concórd*. Cp. E 1129, etc. *cóncord*.

[2] Burghardt, Über den Einfluss des Engl. auf das Anglonorm., 1 ff.

[3] These words are also very few, and the instances given by Kittredge for Troilus (pp. 87, 121) contain a great number of cases where *-e* is either inflectional or represents a direct borrowing of an OF expression, as in IV 1192 *fortune adverse* (: werse 'worse'). — Note also B 4149 *terciane* (i. e. fever; F fièvre, fem.) : bane (death), LGW 1962 *forcyne* (i. e. chambre, fem.) : tweyne (twain).

simply indicate that *g* was a spirant, but where a glide vowel was also apt to be inserted.

The possibility of this methathesis of *-le* > *-el* is extended by tenB., § 87, also to *maister*. But here OE origin is undeniable, not only because of the *-er* for *-re*, but above all on account of the diphthong, which would be abnormal in a French loan. The plural *maistres* may quite as well represent a syncopated plural of the native word (OE māgister).

It has been said that in rime Ch. usually retained the etymological *-e* under all conditions. In some cases, however, he seems to monopolize the *-e*-less forms even in rime. Nearly all of these words were popular and therefore less exposed to Frenchification.

B 1927 *river* (: deer, n. pl. 'deer') < riviere
B 1944 *forest* (: Est 'East') < foreste
B 1751 *honest* (: lest 'lists, pleases') < honeste
B 491 *tempest* (: Est 'East') < tempeste
F 218 *magyk* (: lyk 'like') < magique
B 4028 *Phisik* (: sik 'sick') < physique. But D 187 praktike : like, inf.
D 2008 *person* 'parson' (: destruccion) Cp. II 701 persone (person) : done (to do)

Invariably *-e* had disappeared after a stressed *é* in the combination *-ee* < *-āta*. Native words too had undergone the same process. The *ee* was preserved to express the long *ē* in final position (p. 75). Cp., for instance, E 1077 *prively* (secretly).

A 1345 *contree : see* (to see), B 3465 : she

In G 743 *Iupartye* 'jeopardy' (: folye 'folly') the irrational *-e* may be explained as analogical from the *-e* of *partye*.

PART IV

VOCALISM OF PROPER NAMES

Proper names.

We are here concerned almost exclusively with polysyllables, which of course as a rule had a short stressed vowel. But it is interesting to see how the proper names were used in rime with an artificially stressed final syllable.

The phonology of proper names is naturally harder to ascertain, and one is often reduced to mere conjectures as to what was Ch.'s own form. Strange corruptions of the original — mostly Greek or Latin — names and their adaptability to a given rime-word are frequent stumbling-blocks to the investigator. Furthermore, we do not always have any certain criteria for proving that a particular name had passed through the AF crucible before its appearance in ME. In some cases doublets show that the poet felt at liberty to choose between the classical form and its French equivalent. So we find in some (11) rimes *Palamǭn*, in others (18) *Palamoun* (*ū*), of which the latter form is unmistakably French, while *Palamǭn* represents the artificial lengthening of *-ŏn* to *-ǭn* in a rime-syllable.

That is, in fact, one of the most striking features of the riming proper names. Any name ending in a short, unstressed vowel/single consonant could have, and usually had, the vowel lengthened in rime. It is exactly the same procedure that we have found taking place for normally unstressed endings, which in rime had their short vowel/short cons. lengthened (p. 4). In the case of *e*, *o*, the result of the lengthening was always *ē̩*, *ǭ*. Examples:

A 3272, 3285 Nicholas : cas : allās[1], D 495 Ierusalem[2] : beem (beam)

[1] Perhaps also in V 977 *Pallas* : *wăs*, etc. since *was* could rime with *-ās* and *-ăs*. Of course the normal pronunciation was always *-ăs* in the proper names.

[2] Note HF 591 *Iupiter* : botelē̩r (butler), where the frequency of the suffix *-er* may have influenced the proper name — of course only as a nonce-rime.

B 2088 Ypotys : prȳs (price)
B 3335 Nabugadonosor (Nebuchadnezzar : tresǭr (treasure)
D 890 Arthour (Arthur) : clamour (ū)

This process of lengthening, although primarily originating in *French* models like B 1191 *Denys* (St. Denis) : wȳs, adj., III 382 *Agamemnoun* : toun (town), could be extended also to names that had never passed through French, as we have seen in the case of *-ǭn*, for which French mediation gave a ME *-ūn*. But not all names had their final vowel/cons. lengthened. Especially noteworthy is *a/cons.*, which, in fact, was lengthened only when the consonant was *s*, thus agreeing with the general development of a/cons. (cp. p. 68). We are therefore not surprised to find

B 290 Hanybal : wăl (wall) E 1732 Marcian : măn
G 305 Urban : măn LGW 592 Cesar : wăr (aware)

Of these the names in *-al*, *-ar* may or may not have been French importations, while those in *-an* could not possibly be from OF, since then we should have expected to find some spellings *-aun*, representing the length derived from the French nasal. — Cp. B 1998 *Olifaunt* : geaunt : haunt, A 448 *Gaunt* (Ghent) : haunt, sb., where the vowel was *ā*[1].

Likewise the proper names in *-us* show vacillation, although with a strong inclination to *-ŭs*. We have found (p. 107) that the suffix *-ous* (< -ōsus) was also changeable as to the quantity of *u*, but with a great majority of *-ūs*-rimes, pointing to length as the normal metrical quantity. The case is rather opposite for the proper names in *-us*. I have found in the CF 12 rimes of this *-us* with the suffix *-us* (< ōsus) — usually spelt *-ous* — 1 rime (D 1139) with native *ūs*, and 20 rimes with native *ŭs*. Examples:

B 3765 Antiochus : venymus (venimous)
F 1499 Aurelius : amorus

D 1140 Kaukasous (Caucasus) : hous (ū)

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[1] But 5, 286 *Athalante* : wănte (to want) shows no French influence.

F 965 Aurelius : thŭs (< OE þus)
C 621 Demetrius : ŭs (< OE ūs)
G 967 Ihesus : ~

The short vowel is indisputable for these proper names. Whether French influence had been at work or not cannot be determined, since also OF *ŭs* was bound to give ME *ŭs*, if the French pronunciation of L *us* was *ŭs*[1]. The fact that L names in *-us* were familiar even in OE makes it more reasonable, however, to assume that *-ŭs* was the native representative. We have also to count with the ME school-pronunciation, which naturally was based on French principles.

Even a final vowel received metrical length in rime, short quality being as impossible there as in the alphabetical pronunciation of the vowels. The tendency of lengthening final unstressed vowels has already been dealt with (p. 75). As far as *e*, *o* were concerned they became *ē̩*, *ō̩* (p. 48). — Examples:

A 1077 Emelya[2] : A (ā) interj.
F 207 Pegasee[3] : flee (ē̩) (to flee)
I 72 Appollo : gō̩ : fordō̩, II 8 Cleo : dō̩
G 1448 Plato : tō̩, G 1460 : thō̩ (then)

The vacillation between *ō̩* and *ō* in final position has been referred to above (p. 98 Note 1). It is only natural that a proper name should allow of still greater liberties for the riming vowel.

There is very little to be added concerning the rime-vowel in other positions. In a checked syllable it was naturally always short, as in HF 117 *Leonard(e)*[4] : *hard(e)*, in an

[1] Mall, Computus, 52, gives plus (ü) : Romulus, etc.

[2] Apparently ā was sounded also in 3, 1071 Minerva : Polixena. — The names in *-a* could not have been taken over through French.

[3] This form of *Pegasus* must contain the L ending *-ēus*, although the actual L form was *Pēgasēius*.

[4] Before *st* we find a short vowel — thus precluding French mediation — in D 671 *Theofraste* (Theophrastus) : făste, adv., B 75 *Alceste* (Alcestis) : beste (best). — E 442 *Grisild[e]* : child[e], D 1980 *Inde* : fynde (to find) seem to have had ĭ substituted for ȳ in conformity with the native system *ī/ld*, *nd*.

open syllable it was naturally long, as in B 1545 *Iame* (James) : *dāme*. — We find vacillation between ę̄ and ē̩ in A 980 *Crete* : *ybę̄te* (beaten), LGW 1895: *grę̄te* 'great' pl. — D 733 *Crete* : *swē̩te* (sweet). This might possibly be interpreted as a vacillation between the ę̄ of the French form and the ē̩ of the native spelling-pronunciation. Likewise, in G 62 *Eve* (Eve) : *bilēve* (belief), E 1330 : *prē̩ve* (to prove), one might think of French influence for the former rime, whereas the latter may have been the continuation of OE *Eva* (ē). The fact is, however, that OE *ȝelēafa*, *belīefan* did not preserve their traditional ę̄, ē̩ in ME, but owing to analogy, the ē̩ had been generalized, so the first rime does not prove ę̄.

Vacillation is also found for the quantity of *e* in *Lucrece* (< Lucretia), which rimes 3, 1081 : Grę̄ce (Greece), but 7, 82: -nĕsse (< OE). Cp. also D 1168, HF 972 *Boece* (< Boethius) : noblĕsse, LGW 425 holynĕsse. We find here the same vacillation as has been ascertained for the groups *ese*, *ĕsse* in general (p. 82).

Short vowel is evident in D 1604 *Marie* (Mary) : tărie (to tarry). See p. 67. The spelling-pron. found in ModE may have existed even in ME. Cp. Marry and Maryland! — Short is *i* also in G 85 *Cecilie*[1] : lilie 'lily' (< OE lilie).

The vocalic length due to metrical stress in rime was of course merely artificial. In one case ModE points back to a normal length even for a normally unstressed vowel. I refer to the ending *-es* of Greek proper names corresponding to cases like F 1439 *Alcebiades* : chees (= chose < OE cēas). The modern voiced [*z*], however, shows that the final syllable was once comparatively unstressed, so that the normal ME vowel was presumably *-ĕs* > *-ez*, later on lengthened to *-ēz* > *īz*. The change of final *-es* > *-ez* was confined to unstressed syllables. Cp. *-es* as an inflectional ending.

Noteworthy is also the ModE length in final position of

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[1] Ch. had also G 196 *Cecile* : gīle (guile).

e, *o*, as in *Thisbe* ($\bar{i}$), *Apollo* ($\bar{o}^{u}$). This spelling-pronunciation was also the reflexion of a normally long vowel in ME as has been made likely for final unstressed vowels also in other cases (p. 75).

The diphthongs as a rule had the same sources here as in the vocabulary in general. — A few examples are adduced here:

ai.

HF 196 Itaylle (Italy) : saylle (to sail)
HF 1117 Spayne (Spain) : payne (pain) } *ai* < *a* + *epenthetic i*

A 1031 Alayn : agayn (again), *ai* < *a/nasal*?

A 173 Beneit (< Benedictus[1]) : streit (narrow), *ai* < *ei* < *ę* + *epenthetic i*

A 410 Maudeleyne : Spayne (Spain)
E 1754 Eleyne (Helen) : streyne (to strain) } *ai* < *ei* < $\bar{e}$/*nasal*

---

au.

HF 1796 Isawde[2] : lawde (praise), *au* < *al/cons.* (?)

---

iu.

D 1356 Huwe (Hugh) : retenue
A 53 Pruce[3] : Ruce (Prussia : Russia) } *iu* < *ü*

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[1] Also A 3483 *Benedight* : wight, with *iχt* for *ikt* by way of sound-substitution.

[2] Elsewhere also *Isoude, Isolt, Iseult.* — As etymology Kalbow, W. (Die German. personennamen des afrz. heldenepos, p. 36) suggests Gic **Ishild.* The *au* is curious, but the form is not unique here. This proper name is found in more than 30 variations (See Cent. D). — D 1357 Rauf (Ralph) had no doubt *ā* (ModE $\bar{e}^{i}$), *au* being monophthongized before *v*.

[3] ModE has the Latinized forms, appearing in the 17th c. ModF has *Russie,* but *Prusse.* Ch. knew also F 10 *Russye* : *Tartarye.*

oi̯.

D 1564 Loy (St Eligius) : boy, A 119 : coy, *oi* < CF *oi* < *ei* < *e̯* + *epenthetic i.*

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ui̯.

A 466 Cologne (Cologne) : Boloigne } *ui* < *o̯* + *epenthetic i.*

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